The Outlook

JUNE 1, 1921

AN AMBASSADOR, A MINISTER, AND A COLONIAL GOVERNOR

PRESIDENT HARDING has sent to the Senate the names of Richard Washburn Child, of Massachusetts, to be Ambassador to Italy, Jacob Gould Schurman, to be Minister to China, and E. Mont Reily, of Missouri, to be Governor of Porto Rico.

A Minister is not so great a diplomatic personage as is an Ambassador. But the position of Minister to China, just now, is really more important, we think, in its influence upon world history than is the Ambassadorship to Italy. Appropriately, therefore, President Harding has chosen for the Chinese mission one who is widely respected by reason of scholarship, administrative ability, and force of character. Dr. Schurman is known as a writer of books—"Kantian Ethics," "The Ethical Import of Darwinism," "Belief in God," "Agnosticism and Religion," "A Generation of Cornell," "A Retrospect and Outlook," "The Balkan Wars," and "Why America is in the War." Dr. Schurman is sixty-seven years old and was born in Prince Edward Island. He studied in the Universities of London, Edinburgh, Paris, Berlin, Göttingen, and Heidelberg. He holds the title of LL.D. from no less than eight American universities. After serving terms as Professor of Philosophy at Acadia and Dalhousie Colleges and Cornell University, he became President of Cornell in 1892, serving until 1920. Meanwhile he was President of the first United States Philippine Commission and in 1912-13 was United States Minister to Greece. He was also First Vice-President of the New York State Constitutional Convention.

In contrast to Dr. Schurman, Mr. Child, nominated as Ambassador to Italy, is only forty years old. He is a Harvard graduate, and three years after graduating received an LL.B. degree. He has been editor of "Collier's." In politics he has been an active Progressive. He has enjoyed President Harding's friendship. Mr. Child is widely known as a writer, among his books being "Jim Hands," "The Man in the Shadow," "The Blue Wall," "Potential Russia," and "Bodbank."

Mr. Reily is fifty-five years old. Like Mr. Child, he has been an active Progressive in politics. He is a Kansas City business man. In 1902 he was Assistant Postmaster of that place. The previous year he organized the first "Roosevelt for President" club in the United States. Mr. Roosevelt was then Vice-President. In 1919 Mr. Reily announced that Senator Harding was his choice for the Presidency. He thus claims the distinction of having "guessed" two Republican Presidents before they were generally recognized as active Presidential possibilities.

AMBASSADOR HARVEY MAKES A SPEECH

SOME of those who doubted George Harvey's judgment and power of self-restraint have hoped that his responsibilities as American Ambassador to the Court of St. James's would result in an access of discretion; others, with the same doubt but with added feeling of personal or political animosity, have secretly hoped that their opposition to his appointment would be justified by his indiscretion. His first speech, on the occasion of the welcoming dinner given to him by the Society of the Pilgrims (established to promote mutual understanding between America and Great Britain), did not wholly fulfill the hopes of either class of doubters. It was a speech in which the voice of Harvey the editor was more audible than the voice of America, whose spokesman he was; but what the editorial voice said was, if the substance and not the phraseology is considered, in some respects interpretative of America's present mood.

There were three points which Mr. Harvey particularly dwelt upon.

One was that we did not send our soldiers across the ocean to save Great

Paul Thompson

JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN

Named by the President as Minister to China

(C) Underwood

E. MONT REILY

Named by the President as Governor of Porto Rico

(C) Paul Thompson

RICHARD WASHBURN CHILD

Named by the President as Ambassador to Italy

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Britain, France, and Italy, but "solely to save the United States of America, and most reluctantly and laggardly at that." Continuing, he said:

> We were not too proud to fight, whatever that may mean. We were afraid not to fight. That is the real truth of the matter. So we came along toward the end and helped you and your allies shorten the war. That is all we did, and that is all we claim to have done.

Another point was that the impression "that in some way or other, by hook or by crook, unwittingly, surely unwillingly, America may yet be beguiled into the League of Nations" is "utterly absurd." Declaring that in the election the vote with the majority of seven millions rendered the decision of the American people against America's participation in the League, he announced:

> It follows, then, that the present Government could not, without betrayal of its creators and masters, and will not, I can assure you, have anything whatsoever to do with the League or any commission or committee appointed by it, or responsible to it, directly or indirectly, openly or furtively.

The third point which Mr. Harvey made was the necessity, and, in fact, the inevitableness, of Anglo-American comity. He made this point in the following language:

> Now the question arises, have not our countries reached a point with respect to the remotest possibility of a conflict that justifies our forgetting it as completely as the battles of Bosworth Field and Appomattox have faded from our recollection? Such, I am happy to report faithfully in the teeth of all the mischief-makers and scandal-mongers of both nations, has become the settled conviction of our people, and I hope, and doubt not, of yours.

In stating the reason for our part in the war Mr. Harvey does not speak for the Nation. He undoubtedly expresses a natural reaction from an emotionalism that has too often passed for reason and understanding; but in his reaction from that he has failed to understand the heart of the matter. America went in to save herself, it is true; but she went in to save, not her soil, but her soul. The principles of freedom and justice which she undertook to help defend were her life-blood, it is true, but they were also the life-blood of the other free peoples whom Germany menaced.

In declaring emphatically against America's ever joining the League Mr. Harvey speaks in familiar accents. What he says may be true, but it may not be. His words undoubtedly state what is at present the feeling in America, and they perhaps state the ultimate policy of the Government; but they were needlessly offensive to a good many people in both this country and Great Britain and were hardly suitable to the mouth of an Ambassador.

In pronouncing Anglo-American cooperation as a policy of interest alike to America and Great Britain, Mr. Harvey spoke the real and enduring conviction of the American people. It is true this is a policy which certain elements in America have tried to discredit, but it is one which will not be overthrown, because it is not only right but expedient. Neither nation can afford to nurse mutual antagonism. On this point Mr. Harvey spoke wisely and as a representative of the controlling opinion in this country.

ON HIS "APPOINTED ROUNDS"

THE picture of a letter-carrier on the front cover page of this week's Outlook, our readers will no doubt be interested to learn, was taken by a member of our staff at the Thirty-fourth Street branch of the New York City Post Office. The superintendent of the branch, on being told that a representative member of his force of carriers was sought as the subject of a photograph to accompany an article by Postmaster-General Hays, at once said, "Why, yes, there's Harry—he's just going out to make deliveries." A good upstanding carrier, neatly dressed and alert, responded cordially to an invitation to pose, and volunteered the information that from time to time he personally delivered mail to The Outlook and would be pleased to assist photographically in an article to appear in it. Of several snap-shots taken, the one that appears here, and in color on this week's cover, seems to us best to typify this group among Uncle Sam's efficient and faithful postal employees.

Photograph by H. H. Moore, of the Outlook staff

ON HIS APPOINTED ROUNDS

This photograph also appears on the front cover page of this issue, in color

It may be added that a phrase in the title of this comment is from the inscription on the façade of the new Post Office Building on Seventh Avenue, Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Streets, New York City. It reads in full:

> NEITHER SNOW NOR RAIN NOR HEAT NOR GLOOM OF NIGHT STAYS THESE COURIERS FROM THE SWIFT COMPLETION OF THEIR APPOINTED ROUNDS

At either end of this inscription appears, we are glad to say, a tribute to our associate and ally, France, for her work as a pioneer of postal advancement. At the northern end are these words:

> CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU
> PUBLIC POSTAL SERVICE
> PIERRE D'ALMERAS MDCXXI
> GENERAL DES POSTES

At the southern end:

> LOUIS XI. MCCCCLXIV
> CREATED THE POSTE ROYALE
> FRANZ VON TAXIS MCCCCC
> IMPERIAL POSTMASTER

FRANCIS VINTON GREENE

GENERAL FRANCIS VINTON GREENE, who died recently in New York City, had a distinguished military career, was an engineer of ability, and wrote well on military matters and on international problems. Yet we are inclined to think that his finest public service was done as Police Commissioner of New York City during the administration of Mayor Low. His drastic reforms, his encouragement of police efficiency, and his thorough weeding out of grafters in the police force made his service to the city, and indirectly to the country, memorable. The only other Commissioners, within recent times at least, who were equally noteworthy were Theodore Roosevelt, General Bingham, and Arthur Woods. One writer on General Greene's methods says that he was no sooner appointed than "heads began to fall like apples in a wind-blown orchard." There was need of this excision of bad material from the Department, and the results were remarkable. Would that it could be added that the reforms instituted under Mayor Low by General Greene and under Mayor Mitchel by Arthur Woods had continued in the recent history of the metropolitan police force!

General Greene was a West Point graduate and served with credit in the Regular Army for sixteen years, acting as military observer in the Turco-Russian War with the Russian army and later having charge of important

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SLICK AND SLACK

Darling in the Kansas City Star

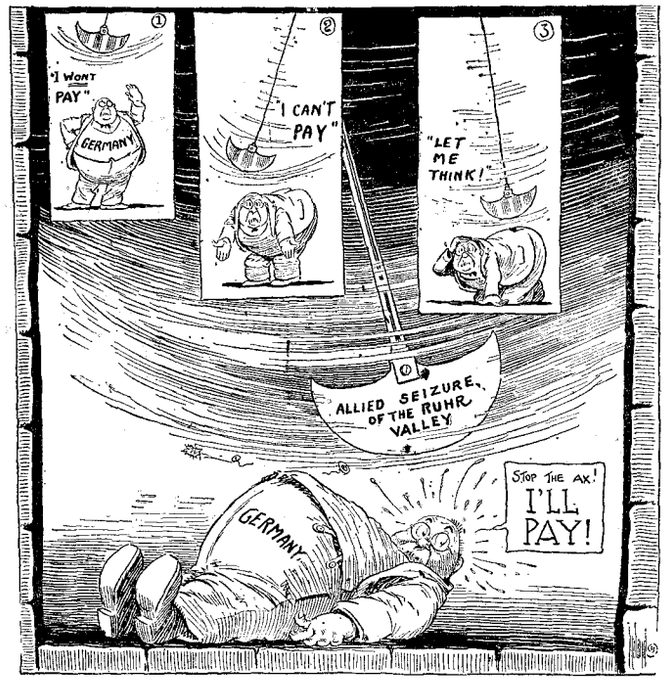
BILL HAYWOOD
SEDITION
I HID A PACKAGE OF BUMBLE BEE FUZZ UNDER THE PANAMA CANAL. DO YOU MIND IF I GO AND LOOK FOR IT?
ALL RIGHT, BUT HURRY BACK
FEDERAL PRISON
THAT SOUNDS LIKE A REASONABLE REQUEST
PLEASE MAY I GO OUT AND LOOK FOR THE END OF A RAINBOW? THERE'S A BIG POT OF GOLD I LEFT THERE THE LAST TIME IT RAINED

(Copyright, 1921)

ANY INCIVILITY ON THE PART OF THE ATTENDANTS SHOULD BE PROMPTLY REPORTED

From Bennett B. Smith, Cameron, Mo.

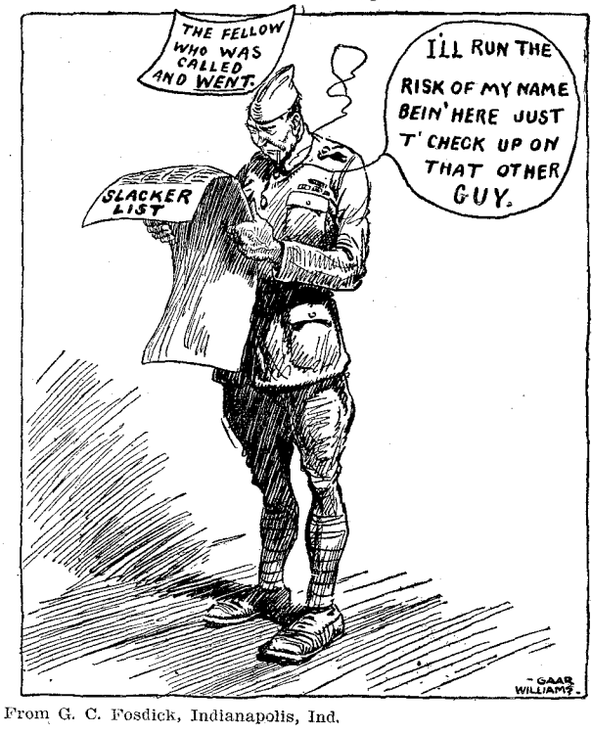
Ireland in the Columbus Evening Dispatch



THE PIT AND THE PENDULUM

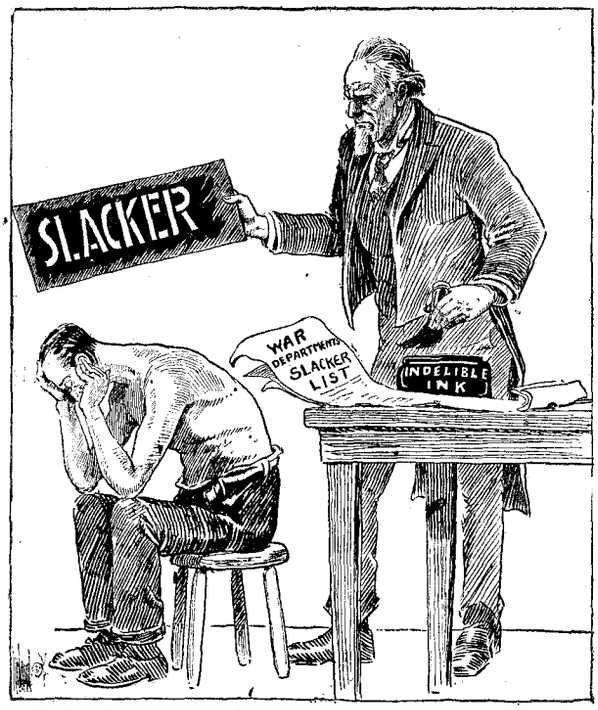
From Robert English, Bexley, Ohio

Williams in the Indianapolis News


THE FELLOW WHO WAS CALLED AND WENT.
I'LL RUN THE RISK OF MY NAME BEIN' HERE JUST T' CHECK UP ON THAT OTHER GUY.
SLACKER LIST
GAAR WILLIAMS

From G. C. Fosdick, Indianapolis, Ind.

Ireland in the Columbus Evening Dispatch



BE SURE ABOUT IT, 'UNCLE—IT'S HARD TO RUB OUT!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ANGELUS RINGS OUT OVER THE FRENCH COUNTRYSIDE WHEREVER THE BELLS IN THE VILLAGE CHURCH TOWERS HAVE NOT FALLEN PREY TO THE INVADER

engineering work in the District of Columbia. He resigned in order to enter commercial work in civil life, but in a few years was chosen Colonel of the Seventy-first Regiment of the New York State Militia, and went with it to Tampa in the Spanish War. Transferred to the Philippines, he took an important part in the operations around Manila, and his report on that period of his life was characteristic of him in its picturesqueness and vigor.

General Greene's writing on public questions was always to the point and based on thorough study and complete information. Two or three of his articles have appeared in The Outlook. The most recent (issue of March 2, 1921) dealt with the important question of "Reparations and Interallied Debts."

The career of this soldier, scientist, administrator, and writer is noteworthy for the versatility of his abilities and achievement.

LIGHTHOUSES AND BELLS

It is only seldom that the wreckage of the war is brought home to America. Our tax bills have mounted high. We have our wounded and our blind, but no blasted fields or shattered cities. It is right that we should be reminded as often as need be that in France, England, and Italy there are many broken lives, and that in Italy and France there is also still remaining material testimony of the pitiless war waged by the Central Powers. If we remember this, there will be a particular interest in the work which is being carried on by the Committee for Men Blinded in Battle, which is endeavoring to provide blinded soldiers of France with a means of making a partial living. Needless to add, perhaps, Miss Winifred Holt is at the head of this work—work which was founded in March, 1915. Those who know what has been done at the Lighthouse of the New York Association for the Blind will find it easy to visualize the work that is being done in France. For many years the Lighthouse for the Blind has taught such trades as typewriting, stenography, commercial courses, languages, music, handicrafts, and modeling, and in such necessary phases of life as the power to enjoy sports and the power to read Braille.

All this work is being duplicated in France. Le Phare de France, or The Lighthouse of France, is equipped with an electric printing plant, handcraft shop for weaving and machine knitting, gymnasium, with athletic appliances, a skating rink, and a complete equipment for the teaching of fencing. The French blind, too, are being trained in agricultural pursuits, such as chicken raising and the planting of crops, so that those who were farmers may be enabled to return to the country and continue their normal vocations as far as possible. Over three thousand blind and partially blind have been aided by the Committee—Frenchmen, Belgians, Russians, Scotchmen, Canadians, Arabians, Swedes.

At the present time the Committee is trying to raise two million dollars to put the educational work on a permanent basis in France and in Italy.

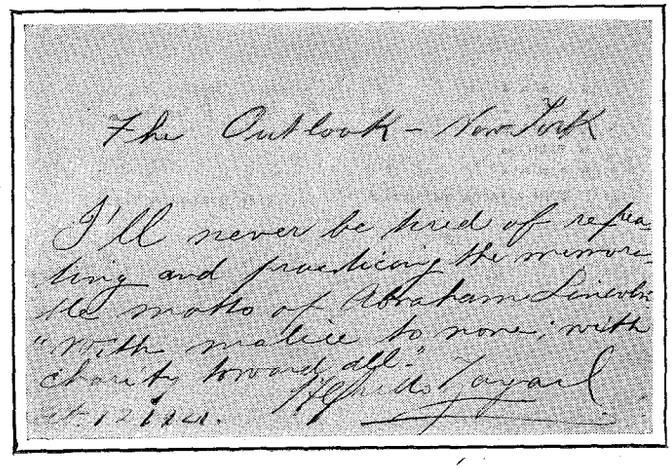
Throughout northern France in the devastated region the churches were ruined and the bells melted down by the Germans or wantonly destroyed. Not a bell was left in the devastated regions to send forth its call to worship or to bring to the ears of the laborer the evening reminder of the Angelus.

The parish chimes play a larger part in French life than most Americans realize, and the loss of the beloved church bells has been a heavy blow to hundreds of villages and towns.

The American Committee for Devastated France has with poetic insight proposed that Americans desirous of giving a war memorial for their own honored dead should purchase a bell for some French village. The cost of a bell in France is approximately one hundred dollars, and it is hoped that at least one hundred people or one hundred groups of people will come forward with contributions of this amount. The Committee for Men Blinded in Battle, 111 East 59th Street, New York City, and the Angelus Fund Committee, of which Dr. Alexander Humphreys, 16 East 39th Street, New York City, is Treasurer, will acknowledge, with appreciation, checks sent to them by readers of The Outlook.

THE NEW PRESIDENT OF CUBA

Dr. Alfredo Zayas took the oath of office as President of Cuba on May 20 and General Francisco Carillo became Vice-President. That the fierce opposition of the followers of General Gomez, the candidate of the Liberal party, to the Presidency of Dr. Zayas has sub-


The Outlook - New York
I'll never be tired of repeating and practicing the memorable motto of Abraham Lincoln
"with malice to none, with charity towards all"

FROM PRESIDENT ZAYAS TO THE OUTLOOK

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sided is due largely to the fact that our Government sent General Crowder to Cuba to act as observer. This convinced reasonable Cubans of the necessity of composing Cuban political quarrels without so misconducting themselves as to make intervention by this country likely. At all events, the Liberal members of Congress abandoned the novel plan proposed of "going on strike"—that is, refusing to take part in the sessions of the Cuban Congress and thereby leaving Congress without a quorum. One of the reforms promised by President Zayas in his inaugural speech is to change the quorum from two-thirds to one-half the members.

Other features of President Zayas's programme are measures to improve the financial and commercial situation, an amendment to forbid second consecutive Presidential terms, negotiation of a new reciprocity treaty with the United States to give Cuba better terms as regards sugar and tobacco, the creation of a Secretary of Communications, and a large reduction of the military budget.

Dr. Zayas was himself at one time a prominent Liberal and was elected as Vice-President when his present rival, Gomez, was chosen President. Zayas in the last election was the candidate of a coalition of Liberals and Conservatives, while Gomez was supported by the radical element of the old Liberal party.

President Zayas has an interesting personality. Both he and his Vice-President, General Carillo, were ardent revolutionists under the Spanish rule. Like his father before him, Zayas has been a lifelong admirer of Abraham Lincoln, as is evidenced in the accompanying message from the new President to The Outlook, sent through a friend in Cuba. Dr. Zayas recently wrote to a Havana newspaper: "I'll never be tired of repeating and practicing the memorable motto of Abraham Lincoln: 'With malice to none; with charity toward all.'" Dr. Zayas has a high reputation as a lawyer and has had a long career in political life. He has an interesting personal side as an ethnologist and student of the language of the aboriginal Indian tribes found by the Spaniards in Cuba, as a lover and collector of books on history, literature, and poetry, and he is himself the writer of several poems, some of which, we are told, were composed by him while a prisoner in Madrid on his way with other Cuban patriots to the African prison in which they were immured. He has also, a correspondent tells us, a fluent knowledge of languages, is a thorough democrat in his manners, and is a speaker of great force, as well as "a clever, wise, and far-sighted politician, with a marked faculty for patient long-suffering and real Anglo-Saxon coolness."

DR. ALFREDO ZAYAS, THE NEW PRESIDENT OF CUBA

(C) Keystone

MARSHAL FOCH (CENTER) IN CITIZEN CLOTHES

He is shown in London, where he attended the recent Allied Conference. Doubtless France leans heavily upon the advice of her great General in the determination of her Silesian policy

POLAND, LLOYD GEORGE, AND BRIAND

THE long delay in the settlement of the Silesian question has caused a clash between Great Britain and France. Impatience with the failure of the Allies to determine definitely the division between German and Polish territory led to the revolt of certain Poles under Korfanty and thence to the use of German troops to suppress this attempt to anticipate the decision of the Supreme Council.

Lloyd George, in a persuasively phrased speech in the House of Commons, declared that Poland had violated the Treaty of Versailles, a Treaty which gave to Poland her freedom, a freedom which she did not win by her own endeavor. He said: "Not merely to disarm Germany but to say that such troops as she has are not to be permitted to take part in restoring order is not fair play."

Premier Briand, in a statement to the press, pointed out that it had not yet been determined definitely what territory would go to Poland and what to Germany. He said that France with only twelve thousand troops had prevented the disorders from reaching serious proportions and that it was the duty of the Allies to impose their will upon Germans as well as Poles. M. Briand pointed out that the original intention of the Allies was to give the whole Silesian region to Poland, and that only at a later date was it decided to organize a system of advisory plebiscites. "I did not invent the system of plebiscites," Premier Briand said, with a smile, "I found it in the Treaty."

M. Briand added pertinently: "We have been getting a lot of advice from England recently, but it would be more useful for the re-establishment of order

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

if we could get the men to help our twelve thousand."

The French press has been bitter in its expressions of displeasure at Mr. Lloyd George's attitude. A date for a conference between Lloyd George and M. Briand for a discussion of their conflicting aims has been frequently set and as frequently postponed. It is probable that the conference will be held before this issue of The Outlook reaches our readers. This conference will do much towards determining whether the commercial interests of Great Britain and Germany will weigh more heavily in the balance than the human rights of Poles and the protection of the national life of France.

That the French policy is in the ascendant may be indicated by the announcement of May 24, which states that Germany (under threat—as always—of penalties) has agreed to withdraw her forces from the disputed territory.

WORTH TRYING

AMERICANS are not pacifists. A few Americans are; but they are not representative of our people as a whole. Whatever movement there is for peace finds its support in the United States chiefly from people who have proved that when the time for fighting comes they can fight with all their hearts.

This must be remembered in considering the present movement in behalf of the limitation of armaments. Mr. Borah's amendment to the Naval Bill calling upon the President to engage with other nations in a conference with the object of limiting armament has received its support from the same kind of people who have hardly finished their experience of making America a formidable belligerent in the biggest war of history.

The reasons which have led to the support of the Borah Amendment are, we think, twofold.

In the first place, the American people, although they can be warlike, are unmilitary. The overwhelming majority of them dislike military trappings and military traditions. They believe so thoroughly in the supremacy of the civil authority that they are jealous of anything that seems to encroach upon it. Americans, therefore, have to reason themselves into whatever preparedness they provide for their country, and then usually do it only under the compulsion of an imminent peril. As a consequence they have sacrificed in their wars hundreds of thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of dollars in tardy preparation because they preferred such sacrifice to the chance of giving too much power or prominence to the military arm of the Government. In the second place, the American people are restive under the expenditure of money for military and naval provisions for which there seems to be no immediate need. They do not relish the thought of having the cost of a military and naval establishment both a heavy and a continuous burden. They may overlook the fact that the cost of a war for which no preparation has been made may ultimately entail greater expenditure than the cost of a war which has been well prepared for. They see clearly the necessity of paying past debts for war, but do not relish spending money for wars which have not yet appeared. Neither of these reasons is a pacifist reason; and they are both consistent with the conviction in favor of national defense.

The primary and essential function of a national government is self-preservation. It does not matter how many other functions the national government may assume under our present complicated civilization, all of these other functions rest upon the foundation of self-preservation.

Though this principle remains unchanged, the application of it alters from time to time. The military and naval preparedness required in 1914 may be a very different thing from that required in 1921. We do not want to pay a dollar less for preparedness to-day than the total of the sum which is required. We cannot afford to pay a dollar more.

Seven years ago the Navy of the United States was surpassed by both that of Germany and Great Britain and was closely pressed by that of Japan. To-day the German navy is no longer in existence, the British navy has been reduced to a level with our own, and the Japanese navy is markedly inferior in size. If our present programme of naval construction is carried to completion, our Navy will exceed that of Great Britain in power by from thirty to fifty per cent.

These facts we take from a recent editorial in the "Scientific American," a journal which has long been a well-informed advocate of naval preparedness, and a journal, it may be added, which is willing to recognize the fact that circumstances have changed and that the measure of our preparedness requirement has been altered by the World War.

In two articles in this issue there is reported a movement in Japan away from the militarist party. Public opinion may not be as controlling in Japan as it is in America, but its influence is distinctly away from militarism. It has been recently reported by Madame Ozaki, whose husband has been urging in the Japanese Diet a resolution favoring the reduction of armament, that a postal-card canvass in Japan has recorded a great majority in favor of Mr. Ozaki's proposal. Great Britain has also been moving in the direction of limiting armaments for the past two years.

The time seems ripe for following out Senator Borah's suggestion that a conference be called to consider the question of a holiday in naval construction or a mutual reduction of naval forces. Perhaps a formal conference of ambassadors or prime ministers or delegates may not be the best way to reach a common agreement among nations in favor of a common limiting of armaments. The informal and quiet, less disputatious, but generally more frank interchange of ideas and plans through the usual diplomatic channels is very likely to prove more effective.

If we could procure a mutual readjustment of naval strength among the nations, we would confer a boon upon the tax-laden peoples of the world, the value of which it would be hard to estimate. There does not appear to be anything in the proposal for a discussion of this question which would jeopardize our National safety in the slightest degree.

CHIEF JUSTICE WHITE

EDWARD DOUGLASS WHITE, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, died in Washington at the age of seventy-five, on May 19. He had been in the full exercise of his remarkable powers as jurist and judge until a short time before his death, which followed an operation.

In the judgment of the legal profession and of all who have watched the findings and decisions of the Supreme Court, Chief Justice White is worthy of being classed with the most famous of his predecessors. John Marshall, to be sure, looms head and shoulders above all the Chief Justices, and, indeed, as a great publicist, a great lawyer, and a great expounder of the Constitution has no American counterpart, but among the other able judges who have held office none, unless it be John Jay, has stood higher than Chief Justice White.

It is interesting and rather remarkable to note that from 1789, when President Washington appointed John Jay as the first Chief Justice, down to Chief Justice White's death the other day—that is, for one hundred and thirty-two years—there have been only eight Chief Justices of the United States Supreme Court. When we remember that the average age of these eight men at the time of taking office was almost fifty, and that two of the terms served, those of Jay and Ellsworth, were very short,

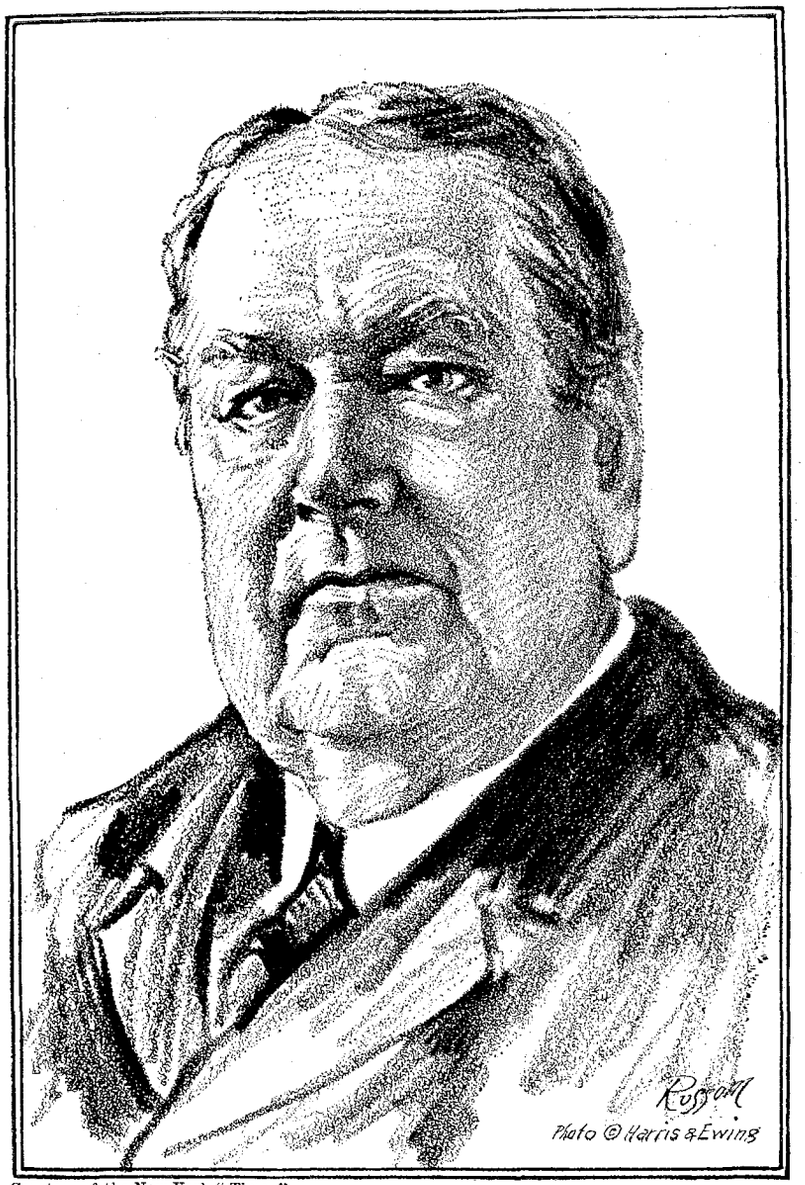
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one is inclined to draw the inference that intellectual exertion of the highest kind is conducive to the continuance of mental vigor and power of close application to work. Marshall served as Chief Justice for thirty-four years, Taney for twenty-eight years, and Melville Fuller twenty-two years. Until Chief Justice White's death four Supreme Court Justices over seventy years of age were serving on the bench.

Another interesting point connected with Chief Justice White's service is that he was the first to be appointed Chief Justice from the bench of the Supreme Court. The custom of appointing some great lawyer or judge outside the bench had grown up, so that the course of President Taft in promoting Judge White was unusual, and the more so that Judge White was in his political affiliation a member of the party opposed to President Taft. Justice White was appointed to the Supreme Court bench by President Cleveland, and it was generally supposed that the President's choice of a man from Louisiana was partly based on the impossibility of appointing one from New York State owing to opposition within the State Democratic party led by Governor Hill. There never was any question, however, as to Judge White's ability as a lawyer and a publicist. He was a Confederate soldier; after the war he was admitted to the Louisiana bar, became a State Senator, then an Associate Justice of the Louisiana Supreme Court, and finally United States Senator. He was a Roman Catholic.

Among the most important decisions of the Supreme Court during the period in which Chief Justice White presided over it were those of the Standard Oil and American Tobacco cases, in which his emphasis on "the rule of reason" was notable; that in which the status of the United States Steel Corporation was held to be legal under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act; that of the Danbury hatters, in which he joined in the dictum that under the Sherman Act members of labor unions were not immune from prosecution and that the secondary boycott was illegal; and (quite recently) that in which the profiteering sections of the Lever Act were held invalid.

The breadth of Chief Justice White's view of the relations of the Supreme Court to life, as well as to law, is shown by his statement that it is "not an institution separate from the country, restraining and controlling all other institutions, but a court in direct contact with the best and most enlightened American minds, unfolding these minds for the lasting benefit of our people and our institutions."



Courtesy of the New York "Times"

EDWARD DOUGLASS WHITE

SYSTEM AT LAST

ON May 24, before the Academy of Political Science in New York City, President Harding made this cheering statement:

> We shall, I trust, have a budget system in operation under the law before the opening of the new fiscal year [July 1]. This is a long step toward introducing into Government the sound methods that great private business establishments have adopted. . . . The establishment of a budget system is the foundation on which reorganization must be based. . . .

A budget is a statement of estimated receipts and estimated expenditures. At least once a year, we believe, every one ought to make a budget.

Some people mistakenly think that our Government already does so. Once a year the chiefs of the bureaus of the executive departments estimate their expenditures during the ensuing year. Now these estimates as a rule, we suppose, do not represent actual needs. The average Senator or Representative, none too familiar with inside departmental workings, tries to atone for his lack of information by a brave show of enforcing economy. Hence bureau chiefs are likely to ask for more than they need on the theory that only so will they get what they must have.

The heads of the executive departments transmit the estimates of all their bureau chiefs to the Secretary of the Treasury, and he transmits them to Congress. Thereupon, in the budget's history, the administrative side ends and the legislative side begins.

I

Under the present administrative system we have endured extravagance and waste. Because we have not had a proper administrative budget, citizens have been heavily and outrageously taxed. It has long been evident that reform is necessary. Finally a budget bill passed the Sixty-sixth Congress a year ago. President Wilson vetoed this bill

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

because it took from the Executive the right to remove one of the budget officials.

Similar measures have now passed both houses of the present Congress. The chief difference between the Senate and House bills is that the first establishes a Budget Bureau in the Treasury Department, whereas the second, as seems to be more logical, places it directly under the President. But whatever the final decision in the conference between the two houses of Congress, either measure, in our opinion, signifies an enormous advance administratively.

The bills provide that on the first day of each regular session of Congress the President shall furnish information concerning:

(1) Permanent appropriations and expected receipts available for expenditure.

(2) An account of the present condition of the Treasury.

(3) Estimates of the necessary expenditures for the Government's support during the ensuing fiscal year.

(4) Statements of the Government's expenditures and receipts during the last fiscal year and the year in progress.

If the estimated receipts, plus the estimated amounts in the Treasury, are less than the estimated expenditures, the President shall recommend new taxes or loans. On the other hand, if the estimated receipts and Treasury amounts are greater than the estimated expenditures, he shall make such recommendations as public interest requires.

A Bureau of the Budget is to be established to co-ordinate and to prepare departmental estimates for Congress and is also to make a special study of the Departments so as to enable the President to determine what changes should be made in their activities.

A General Accounting Office is to be created, independent of the executive departments. The heads are to hold office for seven years and have charge of auditors who are to report on the budget.

Such a measure should accomplish three results administratively.

In the first place, all the people will be able quickly to understand the reasons for necessary economies as well as for necessary expenses.

In the second place, all estimates will be reviewed by an official other than those officials who originally made the estimates.

In the third place, there will be a special and independent proof by audit as to inefficiency, duplication, or waste in departmental activities, a proof conducted by officials free from interference by changing administrations or Congressional majorities.

II

So much for the administrative side. The legislative is also to be blamed for past extravagance and could be simplified in three ways: By

(1) Ending the practice of making indefinite appropriations.

(2) Authorizing, in one act, all expenditures. The chief difficulty facing this reform arises, we believe, from the Constitutional provision that each Congress shall prescribe rules governing its procedure. Any attempt to provide that all the expenditures should be considered at one and the same time by Congress is effective only during the life of that particular Congress. In order therefore to bring about the consideration of all appropriations in one bill, the House has passed a resolution taking from all the standing committees authority to report appropriation bills, and has vested that authority in the Committee on Appropriations. Hence, when the Budget Bill becomes a law—at a very early date, we hope—the budget will come to the Appropriations Committee of this Congress, at least, and be reported to the House as a single bill carrying all appropriations, and will be considered and authorized in the one bill—despite the danger that some technical snag regarding one particular little revenue or one particular little appropriation might hold up an omnibus measure, the immediate passage of which would be demanded by the whole country.

(3) Authorizing expenditures at a time when revenues to meet them are provided. In establishing this reform there is, we are convinced, even greater difficulty in the way, for our expenditures are so large that it will be hardly possible at present to co-ordinate the two subjects, closely related as they are. At the same time, it seems to us, it is not too much to expect that ultimately our whole financial programme—the appropriation of money and the raising of money to meet the appropriation—may be undertaken in one and the same bill. This is the ideal.

As President Harding says: "The budget programme will not do everything. It must not be accounted a fiscal and efficiency panacea. There must still be much and continuing effort to keep expenses down." But a budget, like that here suggested, should clear the atmosphere of many problems of taxation and expenditure.

WHAT SORT OF INVESTIGATION

A CORRESPONDENT reports to us that the Northern Baptist Convention in its session at Buffalo, New York, in June, 1920, appointed a committee to investigate the Baptist schools, colleges, and theological seminaries within its territory and report at its next meeting in 1921, at Des Moines, Iowa, and he asks, Is this investigation necessary? He accompanies this question with a pamphlet which gives quotations from eminent Baptist scholars showing quite evidently that they do not all agree on some important theological questions, especially on the nature and authority of the Bible.

Our answer to his question may be very briefly put.

If this investigation is conducted for the purpose of ascertaining *what* the schools, colleges, and theological seminaries teach in order to secure uniformity in their teaching, it is certain to be dangerous and may be disastrous to their usefulness. If it is conducted for the purpose of ascertaining *how* they teach, and for the purpose of safeguarding and promoting in the Baptist ministry the "liberty of prophesying," it may increase the intellectual and spiritual power not only of Baptist churches but of all Protestant churches.

Both the peril and the promise apply especially to the theological seminaries.

There is in certain quarters a notion that the ecclesiastical authorities should determine what is truth, that the theological seminaries should teach what the ecclesiastical authorities prescribe, that the students should receive what the theological seminaries give, and that the preachers should retail to their congregations what they have gathered from the theological seminaries. Wherever this notion has prevailed piety has languished, discussion has been stifled, and intelligence has died.

There is, on the other hand, the faith that every preacher should be able to say, with his Master, "I have come that ye might have life more abundantly;" that he goes to school, college, and seminary, not to get thoughts ready made, but to get power to think for himself and power to inspire his hearers to think for themselves. Mr. Crothers has said that many men do not think because they lack the necessary conveniences. The object of a theological seminary should be to give its students the necessary conveniences for doing their own thinking.

If the effect of this investigation is to make this distinction clear, and to show the Baptist churches which of their theological seminaries are endeavoring to endow their pupils to do their own theological thinking, and which of them, if any, are endeavoring to bestow upon them thoughts ready made which they can deal out to their congregations without thinking, the Committee, even if it should render a divided report, may render the churches a great service.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I ACCEPT"

BY HAROLD TROWBRIDGE PULSIFER

I SHALL go out as all men go,
Spent flickers in a mighty wind,
Then I shall know, as all must know,
What lies the great gray veil behind.

There may be nothing but a deep
Unutterable void without a name
Where no sun hangs, no dead stars sleep,
And there is neither night nor flame.

There may be meadows there and hills,
Mountains and plains and winds that blow,
And flowers bending over rills
Springing from an eternal snow.

There may be oceans white with foam
And great tall ships for hungry men
Who called our little salt seas home
And burn to launch their keels again.

There may be voices I have known
And fingers that have touched my hair,
There may be hearts that were my own.
Love may abide forever there.

Who knows? Who needs to understand
If there be shadows there, or more,
To live as though a pleasant land
Lay just beyond an open door?

A PASSIONATE AMERICAN

FEW men in contemporaneous American political life have had a deeper and more constant feeling for what we are pleased to call Americanism than Franklin K. Lane, ex-Secretary of the Interior, who died on Wednesday, May 18.

The facts of his life may be simply stated. He was born in 1864, on Prince Edward Island, Canada, the son of a doctor, but he found his home in California while yet a child. He was a graduate of the University of California in the class of 1886, and during his life received a number of honorary academic degrees. On graduation from college he became a newspaper man; was admitted to the California bar in 1889; was corporation counsel of San Francisco for five years from 1897; was one of the earliest moving spirits in the campaign of reform in California, which resulted in the complete change of the political character of that State; was defeated for Governor of California in 1902 as the reform candidate on the Democratic ticket; was appointed a member of the Inter-State Commerce Commission in December, 1905, by President Roosevelt and held that important office for eight years, the last four months being Chairman; and was chosen by President Wilson as his first Secretary of the Interior, serving in that capacity for seven years. He resigned on March 1, 1920, partly because of the condition of his health, partly because he felt it necessary to practice his profession in order to provide for his family, and partly because conditions in the Cabinet during the last year or two of President Wilson's term were almost intolerably exasperating. He had suffered for some months before his death from angina pectoris, and died from heart disease a few days after he had apparently recovered from a very serious surgical operation.

Both as Inter-State Commerce Commissioner and as Secretary of the Interior he was one of the most efficient public servants this country has had in recent years, commanding the devotion of his associates and subordinates and the entire respect of those who might naturally be opposed to him on political grounds or grounds of personal business interest.

I made Lane's acquaintance in California in the summer of 1888, when he and I were fellow-reporters on the San Francisco "Chronicle." When I got my place on that paper, I was a complete stranger in San Francisco, having arrived on the Pacific coast only a few weeks earlier. Lane was younger in years, but older in experience, and I shall never forget how he helped me in learning the ropes. I was attracted to him from the first, and, although he was only twenty-four years of age, I was impressed with his maturity, sound judgment, and determination to do good work. Even in those days he displayed the genial and engaging qualities which won him such hosts of friends in after life. But his enjoyment of human companionship, which is only another way of saying he was a good mixer, never let him slight his work or indulge in careless or slipshod methods, which, I think, constitute the one great serious fault of American daily newspapers. In a letter which he wrote to some friends when he was convalescing from the surgical operation he said:

"I have seen death come to men in various ways, some rather novel and Western. I once saw a man hanged, and I have seen several men shot and came very near going out that way myself two or three times, but always the other fellow aimed poorly. I was being shot at because I was a newspaper man, and I should have been shot at. There must be public concern in what is printed, as well as what is truth, to justify it. That is something that newspapers should get to know in this country."

I do not believe that Franklin Lane was ever shot at because of anything he wrote himself, for, as I look back over the thirty years that have intervened since those early newspaper days, I think it may be said that "public concern" was the animating motive of Lane's career. He believed in America, he believed in the men and women who are making America, and in this sense he had a passion for Americanism. There is a little book, of only a trifle more than a hundred pages, of his addresses. It is entitled "The American Spirit" and is published by the Frederick A. Stokes Company, of New York. Without Pharisaism or cant or pomposity in every one of these addresses he urges the highest kind of American citizenship; the American pioneer, the American soldier, the American painter, sculptor, architect, landscapist, the American engineer, the American physician, the American philanthropist (and by philanthropist he did not mean the millionaire, but the modest man or woman who bought a Liberty Bond or worked in the Red Cross)—these are Americans who appealed to him.

A few years ago, in the latter part of his work as an Inter-State Commerce Commissioner or in the early part of his incumbency of the Secretaryship of the Interior—I forget which—I lunched with him in New York, and afterwards, walking across Madison Square, he told me that he had just been offered a guar-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

anty of thirty thousand dollars a year with contingent profits to join a well-known New York law firm, but, although greatly tempted, he had turned the offer down, as there were things which he wanted to complete in his public service. That this decision was a real sacrifice is proved by the fact that it is announced that the estate which he left for his family was little or nothing.

As I think it over, I believe what most appealed to me about Franklin Lane was his genuineness. He was not afraid to express himself. He had sentiment without being a sentimentalist, visions without being a visionary, imagination without being a mere day-dreamer, practical judgment and compromise without being a materialist, passionate patriotism without being a jingo or a race hater. As a fine and cheering specimen of self-revelation there could not be anything better than the letter, already referred to in this article, which he wrote just before his death. I should like to print the whole of it, but space will only permit some extracts. He begins it like one of the epistles in the New Testament:

> Franklin K. Lane, who is recuperating from an operation at St. Mary's Hospital in Rochester, Minnesota, to a few friends:
>
> It is Wednesday afternoon and I am now sitting up in bed talking to my good friend Cotter. Until yesterday I did not clearly visualize any one thing in this room, and did not know that it had a window except that there was a place that noise came through, but I did know that it had a yellow oak door that stared at me with its great big square eye all day and all night.
>
> Last Friday, you see, about ten in the morning I took the step that I should have taken months, yes years, ago. I was stretched on a stiff, hard table, my arms were clamped down and in three-quarters of an hour I had my appendix and my gall bladder removed, which latter was a stone quarry and the former a cesspool. To-day most tentatively I crawled on to a chair and ate my first mouthful of solid food. But four days ago I managed to shave myself and I am regarded as pretty spry.

Then, after commenting on various forms of tragic death which he himself had witnessed, he continued:

> But never before have I been called upon to deliberately walk into the Valley of the Shadow and, say what you will, it is a great act. . . . Here was a path the end of which I could not see. I was not compelled to take it. My very latest doctor advised me against taking it. I could live some time without taking it. It was a bet on the high card with a chance to win, and I took it.
>
> I undressed myself with my boy's help in one of the hospital rooms and then arraying myself in my best suit of pajamas and an antique Samurai robe which I use as a dressing-gown, submitted myself to being given a dose of dazing opiate which was to do its work in about fifteen minutes. I then mounted a chair and was wheeled along the corridor to the elevator, stopping meantime to say *adieu* to my dear ones, who would somehow or other insist on saying *good-by*, which is a different word. I was not to be given the usual anæsthetic because my heart had been cutting up some didoes, so I must take a local anæsthetic which was to be administered by a very celebrated Frenchman. I need not tell you that the whole performance was managed with considerable *éclat*, and Dr. Will Mayo, probably the first surgeon of the world, was to use the knife, and in the gallery looking on were Dr. John Finney of Johns Hopkins, Dr. Billings of Chicago, Dr. Vaughan of the Michigan University, and others. On the whole, it was what the society reporter would call a *recherché* affair. . . .
>
> For two days I had knowledge that this operation was to take place at this time and my nerves had not been just as good as they should have been. Those men who sleep twelve hours perfectly before being electrocuted have evidently led more tranquil lives than I have, or have less concern as to the future. Ah, now I was to know the great secret! For forty years I had been wondering, wondering. Often I had said to myself that I should summon to my mind when this moment came some words that would be somewhat a synthesis of my philosophy. Socrates said to those who stood by after he had drunk the hemlock, "No evil can befall a good man whether he be alive or dead." I don't know how far from that we have gone in these twenty-four hundred years. The apothegm, however, was not apposite to me because it involved a declaration that I was a good man, and I don't know anyone who has the right to so appreciate himself. And I had come to the conclusion that perhaps the best statement of my creed could be fitted into the words, "I accept," which to me meant that if in the law of nature my individual spirit was to go back into the great Ocean of Spirits, my one duty was to conform. "Lead, Kindly Light" was all the gospel I had. I accepted. I made pretense to put out my hand in submission and lay there.

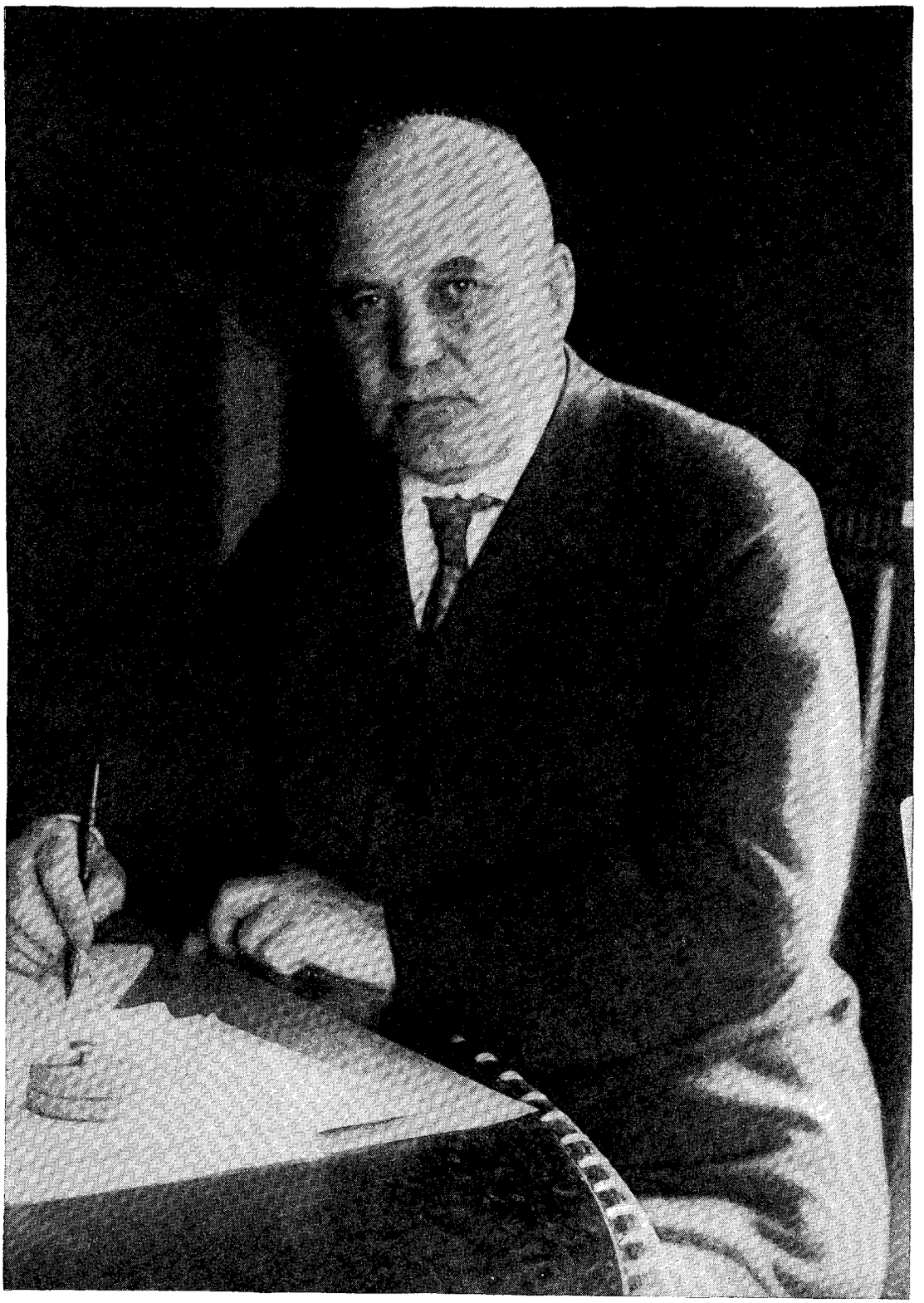
He then proceeds briefly but graphically to describe what happened in the operating room.

> The process there was lightning-like. I was in torture. "Lift me up, lift me up!"
>
> "What for?"
>
> "I have one of those angina pains and I must ease it by getting up and taking some nitro." That had been my practice, but I did not reason that never before had the pain come on my right side.
>
> "Give him a whiff of ether." The tenderest arms stole around my head and the softest possible voice—Ulysses must have heard it long ago—"Now do take a deep breath." I resisted. I had been told that I would see the performance.
>
> "Please do breathe very deeply—just one good deep breath."
>
> That pain was burning the side out of me. I tried to get my hand up to my side. Of course it was tied down. I swore, "O Christ! This is terrible!"
>
> "It will stop if you will reach for a big breath"—and I resigned myself. Men who are given the third degree have no stronger will than mine. I knew I was helpless. I must go through, I must surrender to that Circean voice. I heard the doctor in a commonplace monotone say, "This is an unusual case"—the rest of this sentence I never heard. . . .
>
> I am doing well; cared for well; as happy as can be; have had none of my angina pains since the operation. And as I lie here I contemplate a frieze—a procession of doctors and nurses and internes, of diagnosticians and technicians and experts and mechanics and servitors and cooks—all, the great and the small, in profile. They are to look like those who have made their pretenses before me during the past year—the solemn and the stupid, the kindly, the reckless, the offhand, the erudite, the practical, the many men with tubes and the many men with electrical machines. Old Esculapius must begin the procession, but the Man with the Knife, regnant, heroic size, must end it.
>
> What a great thing, what a pride, to have the two men of greatest constructive imagination and courage in surgery in the world as Americans, Dr. Charles and Dr. Will Mayo.

What a letter from a dying man! It is a practical illustration of one of Theodore Roosevelt's finest sayings: "Only those are fit to live who do not fear to die." And at the very end comes out Lane's instinctive pride in well-trained, efficient, sympathetic Americanism.

Ten years before I made Franklin Lane's acquaintance—that is to say, more than forty years ago—I made the acquaintance of another delightful American who, by a curious coincidence was to become, like myself, an admirer of Lane, although a much more intimate friend. I speak of Roland Cotton Smith, the rector of St. John's Church, Washington, D. C., the church which has ministered to a long roll of Presidents and statesmen. I first knew Cotton Smith as a crack tennis player in college. I admired and looked up to him for his skill as a tennis player, in which sport I was a mere duffer. I have since come to look up to him and admire him as an appraiser of spiritual values. When Franklin Lane took up his official life in Washington in 1905, he became a member of Cotton Smith's congregation. After Lane's death Cotton Smith, who happened to be in New York, came into my office to talk to me about this devoted American whom we both knew, one at the beginning of his career, the other more intimately at its end. The letter which Lane wrote on his deathbed and from which I have quoted was given to me by Cotton Smith. In it Lane speaks of diagnosticians. If I

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



International

FRANKLIN KNIGHT LANE

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were to be diagnosed spiritually, I do not know any man to whom I would more willingly submit myself than to Cotton Smith. He tells me that, while Lane was a big-hearted, masterful doer of things, there was a side to his nature that was childlike in the simplicity of its faith and aspiration. Cotton Smith had written some verses as a spontaneous expression of his own feelings about Lane's death. I asked and received his permission to use them. Here they are:

FRANKLIN KNIGHT LANE

By Roland Cotton Smith

A knight he was, and a knight by name,
And he started forth to play the Game,
With a light in his hand to find the Flame.

He asked the many, he asked the few:
Who fashioned the stars and distilled the dew?
And the few did but smile and answer—who?

Why are these myriad worlds? was his cry,
As he turned his searchlight on to the sky.
And the sky caught up and thundered his—why?

He stood on the brink that may spell despair.
Where am I going? he asked of the air.
And the air closed down and stifled the Where?

Then he heard a voice like a word of command,
Oh, you Knight of the Road, you will understand
The Flame you seek is the light in your hand.

The impulse to lift yourself up from the sod,
The urge of your feet on the path you have trod,
The fact of the search is the truth of a God.

The strength you need in the thick of the fight,
The truth you seek in the dark of the night,
The Christ whom you call is in that small light.

So the knight marched on shining in mail,
Dauntless in spirit, he cannot fail,
He will find, what he holds, the Holy Grail.

It may be that to some readers the sketch which I have attempted of Franklin Knight Lane will seem too intimate, but on the whole I think I will let it stand as it is. Generally speaking, I do not think that Americans get enough intimate views of the finer side and sweeter qualities of their public men. The turmoil and stress of political life is such that our judgments are more prone to be critical and bitter than friendly and helpful. As the statesmen of my generation pass away, as they are now beginning to do more and more rapidly, the younger men must "carry on," and they ought to have a chance to know something about the inner life of the men of affairs whom they are to follow. That is my only excuse, if excuse is needed, for this kind of personal portrait. Lawrence F. Abbott.

THE SITUATION IN EGYPT

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE increasing independence of Egypt from Turkish authority from the time of the founder of the dynasty of the Khedives, Mohammed Ali, early in the past century, to the revolution of Arabi Pasha in 1882; the occupation of Egypt by the British and the making of modern Egypt under Lord Cromer and his successors from 1882 to 1914; the deposing of the Khedive Abbas II; six years of the "Sultans" Hassain and Fouad, both of them nominated and maintained in office under a British Protectorate and martial law—these, with the war, have been the factors contributing to the remarkable political awakening which has taken possession of Egypt to-day. No generation in all the days of the Ptolemies, Romans, Saracens, or Mamelukes ever saw such a state of the popular mind or such a desire for participation in the affairs of the nation. For centuries pashas have done what thinking was necessary to control the *fellahin* of the Nile Valley. To-day from these same peasants the pasha leaders claim and seek their authority.

This week (early in April) the Pasha of the Pashas, Saad Zaghlool, has returned to Cairo. Cabinet Ministers, officials of every grade, delegations of every sort, princes, ladies, the masses and the classes—every one except the Sultan—are vying with one another in welcoming him back. Processions, cheering hosts, banners, thousands of students, immense crowds of rich and poor, high and low, panegyrics, have marked his arrival at Alexandria, his route to Cairo, and from the station to his home. It has been such a triumphal entry as must have greeted Roman Emperors, but far more popular, more cordial, and more demonstrative.

But who is Saad Pasha Zaghlool? A former student of the Azhar, Islam's greatest university, at Cairo, a Government official rising through successive stages to become a member of the Khedive's Cabinet as Minister of Education, he stepped forward in the fall of 1914 as an advocate of the removal of the British Protectorate and the declaration of independence for Egypt. He and his colleagues insisted upon the application of President Wilson's principle of self-determination for small nations, and demanded a representation at the Paris Conference. They were refused permission to go to Paris by the British authorities and suddenly deported to Malta. The nation clamored for their return, which was soon granted. The impression prevailed in the nation's mind (greatly emphasized by the Nationalist leaders) that their return was the result of intimidation of British officials by the popular demonstration. The riots of the spring of 1919 followed. The support of the demand for the withdrawal of England from Egypt increased apace. Saad Pasha and a small delegation of leaders were practically elected by the Egyptian people to proceed to Paris and London to secure what was demanded. It was said that £1,000,000 was collected and placed at the disposal of the delegation. Saad Pasha raised the banner of complete independence for Egypt; he staked everything on this and left no alternative.

In the fall of 1919 a Commission headed by Lord Milner, British Colonial Secretary, proceeded to Egypt to investigate the situation. They were to report to Parliament as to the causes of discontent and the possible solution of the questions involved.

The leaders of the Nationalists rendered it almost impossible for the Commission to have any contact with the Egyptian people. They proclaimed a boycott, not only of the Commission, but of any who would confer with its members, on the ground that England had no right to send such an investigating Commission or to legislate concerning a sovereign state, as they claimed Egypt was.

Meanwhile the Commission secured its data and returned to London in the spring of 1920. Not long afterward Saad Pasha and the delegation were invited to London for conference with the Commission. Not a little difficulty had to be surmounted in order to accomplish this, the British maintaining that the delegation did not officially represent the Egyptian Government and the delegation insisting that it did. Moreover, the British maintained that whatever arrangement might be made must safeguard England's interest in Egypt, and that England was responsible to the Powers of Europe for the protection of their subjects and investments in Egypt. Saad Pasha, as has been said, stood squarely on the platform of entire independence.

In September, 1920, the Milner Commission proposed as a basis of negotiation a scheme whereby the Capitulations

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—those treaties under which foreigners residing in Egypt enjoyed ex-territorial rights and privileges—would be abolished and England would become sponsor for all foreign interests in Egypt. The scheme provided for a very large reduction of direct British authority in the control of the Department of State, maintaining British advisers only for the Ministries of Finance and Justice.

Some of the delegation returned to Egypt to sound public opinion (what an anomaly for Egypt!), and when they returned to London it was to notify the Milner Commission that no negotiations would be entered into except upon the distinct declaration that the Protectorate was to be withdrawn.

At last, in February, 1921, the report of the Milner Commission to the British Government was published. It was a moderate, sane, sympathetic, and thoroughgoing statement of the conditions as the Commission had found them; but it did not declare the abolishing of the Protectorate. Almost simultaneously, however, Lord Allenby, British High Commissioner at Cairo, sent a note to the Sultan asking him to appoint an official delegation to proceed to London to negotiate for new relationships of the British and Egyptian Governments and upon the basis of the abolishing of the Protectorate.

The Egyptian people and their delegation at London saw in both the Milner report and in Lord Allenby's note no indications of the complete independence which they were demanding. They felt it was only a diplomatic scheme to change conditions somewhat, but to leave England in the saddle.

LORD ALLENBY, BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER AT CAIRO

SAAD ZAGHLOOL, PASHA OF THE PASHAS

"Now he is back in Egypt. No one knows what may happen. Some are sure he is a dangerous demagogue. . . . Some say he . . . will be dictator himself. Some say he will gain the absolute control of a mass and then lead them to an agreement with England. . . . Meanwhile the nation is taking its stand with Saad Pasha"

By the end of March the Ministry had fallen; its members had been guarded day and night and escorted through the streets by armed patrols during the year of their office. A new Cabinet was formed with Adly Pasha Yeken as Prime Minister and Rushti Pasha, formerly Prime Minister two or three years ago, as Vice-President of the Cabinet. Adly Pasha had been for the past year in close touch with the delegation in London and Paris and was regarded as the most able one to arrange some effective negotiation. In accepting the appointment to form a new Cabinet he notified the Sultan that it was with the understanding that the official delegation to be sent to London should be presided over by Saad Pasha.

Great was the rejoicing when Adly Pasha's Ministry took office. Some were surprised, some became suspicious, when within a day or two it was announced that Saad Pasha had cabled from London that no steps should be taken until he arrived in Cairo. He had been gone for two years, and was leaving for Egypt immediately.

And now he is back in Egypt. No one knows what may happen. Some are sure he is a dangerous demagogue, choosing rather to awaken emotion and sway the crowd into dangerous extremes. Some say he, being an Egyptian, will never co-operate with Adly Pasha and his Cabinet of Turkish origin toward dictating the policies of Egypt, but rather will be the dictator himself. Some say he will gain the absolute control of the masses and then lead them to an agreement with England on a basis of less than absolute independence. Some say England is quite ready to withdraw and surrender everything to Egyptian control except the Suez Canal. Some look for an uprising of the masses if they discover that the British are actually contemplating leaving Egypt, claiming that what they have learned of British security and justice shall not be surrendered for what Turks have to offer. Some look for trouble over the question as to whether Egypt or England shall control the Sudan.

A remarkable feature of the present situation is the co-operation of the Mohammedan and Coptic elements of the population. While it is true that one finds an occasional Copt who deplores the possibility of control passing out of the hands of the British, the great majority claim a complete coalescence of these two elements of the population which have been so mutually antagonistic for a thousand years. One frequently sees banners in the processions displaying both the Crescent and the Cross, and indeed hears among the shouting "Long live the Cross with the Crescent!" Since the beginning of the Moslem conquest thirteen centuries ago no one ever saw or heard such things in Cairo.

The present demonstrations have given no indication of any tendency to violence such as occurred two years ago;[1] all the shouting has been rather constructive in its suggestions, even going so far as to be cheering both for Saad Pasha and for the Milner Commission and England, although one does not just see how the two positions are to be harmonized.

Meanwhile the foreign population of Egypt is seriously wondering what their Governments in Europe and America are to say concerning the decisions to be made. If Saad Pasha proves to be enough of a statesman to co-operate with the European Powers as well as with England, they feel that security and progress may be attained; if he does not, they anticipate a large withdrawal of European investment along with the removal of British authority. Meanwhile the nation, for the present at least, is taking its stand with Saad Pasha, and clamoring for the removal of every vestige of British authority, and suggesting the undoing of many things done by Great Britain in Egypt since 1914, even to the extent of the restoring of the Khedive Abbas II to his authority. The end is not yet.

Cairo, Egypt. SCRIPTOR.

[1] Despatches, however, have reported at least one recent outbreak, occurring since this was written.—The Editors.

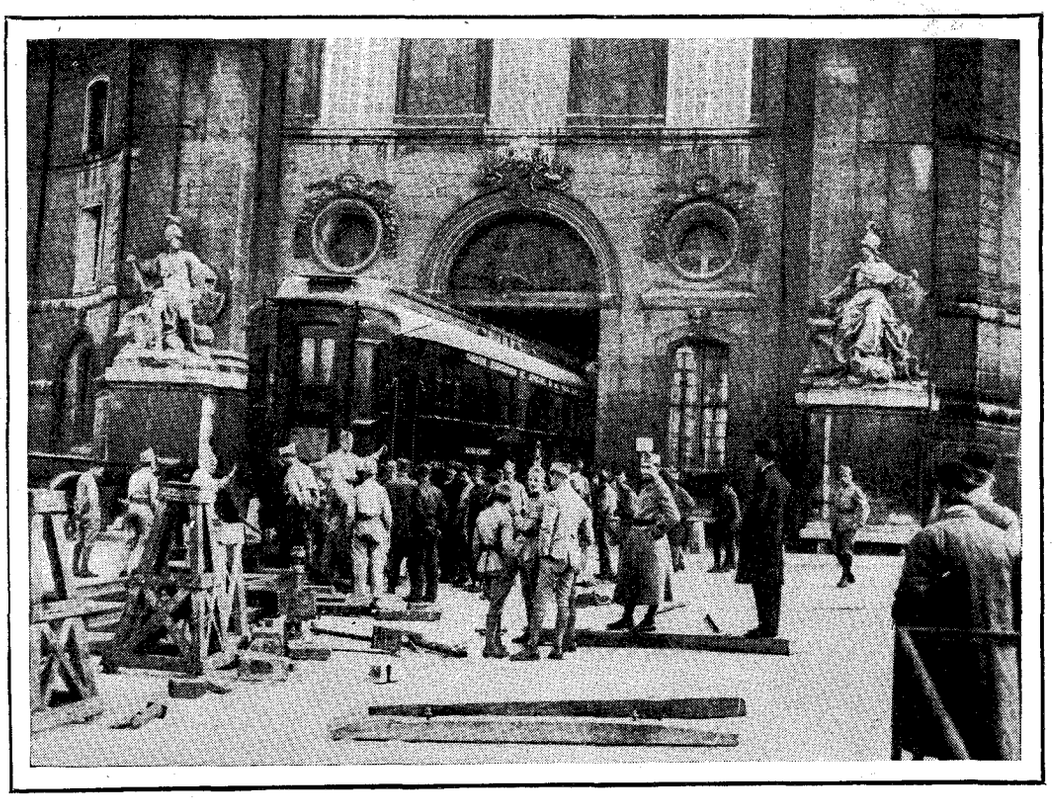
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CENTENARY OF NAPOLEON'S DEATH

(C) Keystone

THE CENTENARY AT THE ARCH OF TRIUMPH IN PARIS

At this great Arch, begun by Napoleon to commemorate his victories—the largest triumphal arch in the world — M. Barthou, French Minister of War, made an address on May 5, the centennial anniversary of Napoleon's death. *Note* the group of well-known Generals in the front row, left to right: Dubail, Mangin, Fayolle, Foch (looking up), Pétain



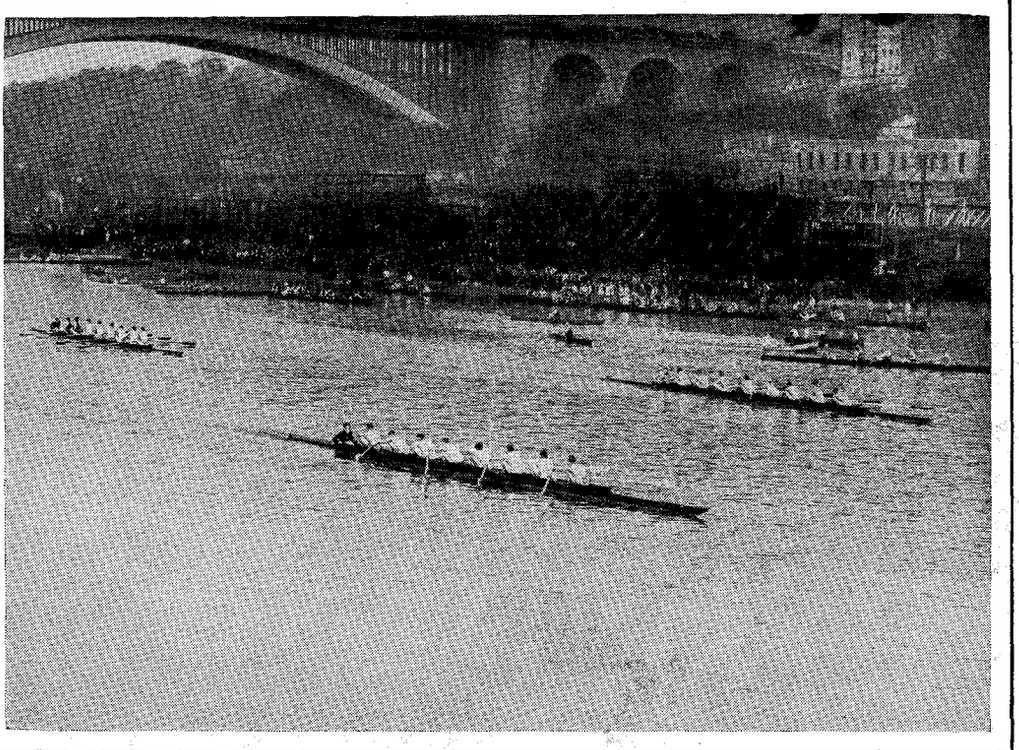
Wide World *Photos*

THE HISTORIC ARMISTICE CAR PLACED IN THE MUSEUM OF THE INVALIDES, NEAR THE TOMB OF NAPOLEON

This is the railway car in which the German delegates signed the terms of the armistice at the demand of Marshal Foch

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

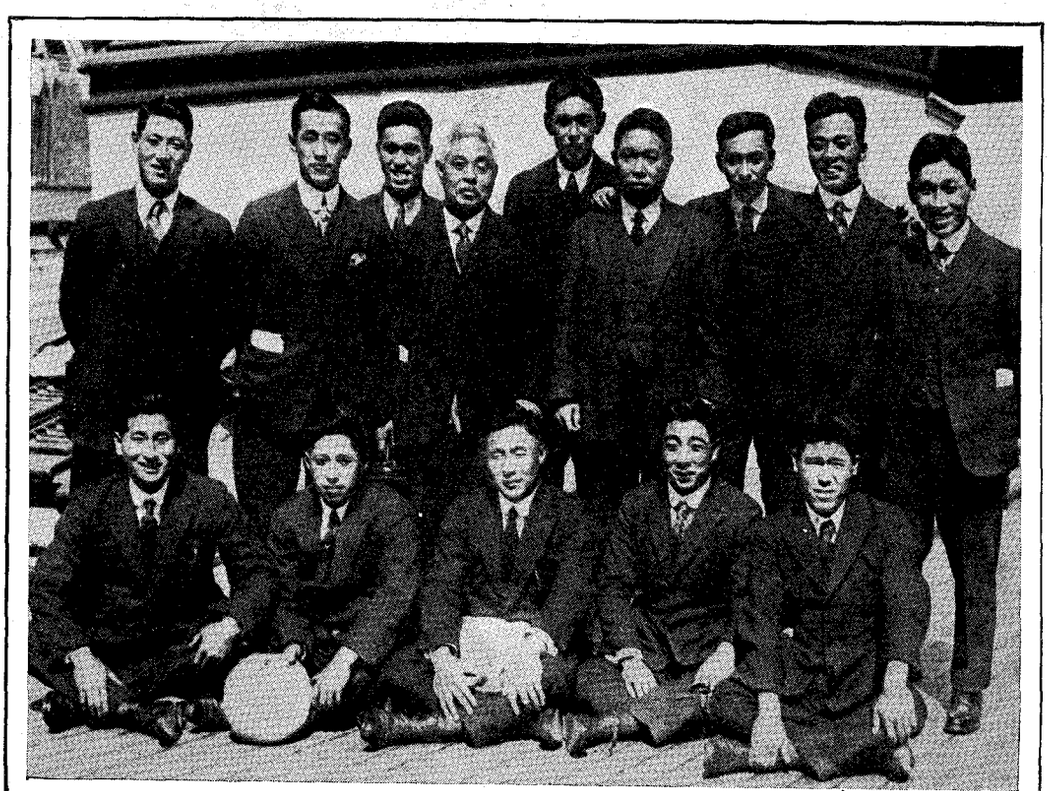
BOAT RACING AND BASEBALL



International

COLUMBIA CREW WINS THE CHILDS CUP ON THE HARLEM RIVER

The 'varsity crew of Columbia University won the sixteenth annual Childs Cup race this year, defeating Princeton and Pennsylvania. Columbia crossed the line one-third of a length ahead of Princeton, with Pennsylvania three lengths behind. In the background of the picture the Washington Bridge is seen. Princeton has defeated Yale, Harvard, Cornell, and the Navy in other races this season



(C) Keystone

THE WASEDA UNIVERSITY BASEBALL TEAM TO PLAY IN AMERICA

This ball team is regarded as the best in Japan. It comprises a group of fifteen students and Mr. T. Abe, who is Dean of the College. Mr. Abe is shown in the middle of the group. On their tour of the United States the club plans to play Yale, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and other universities

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

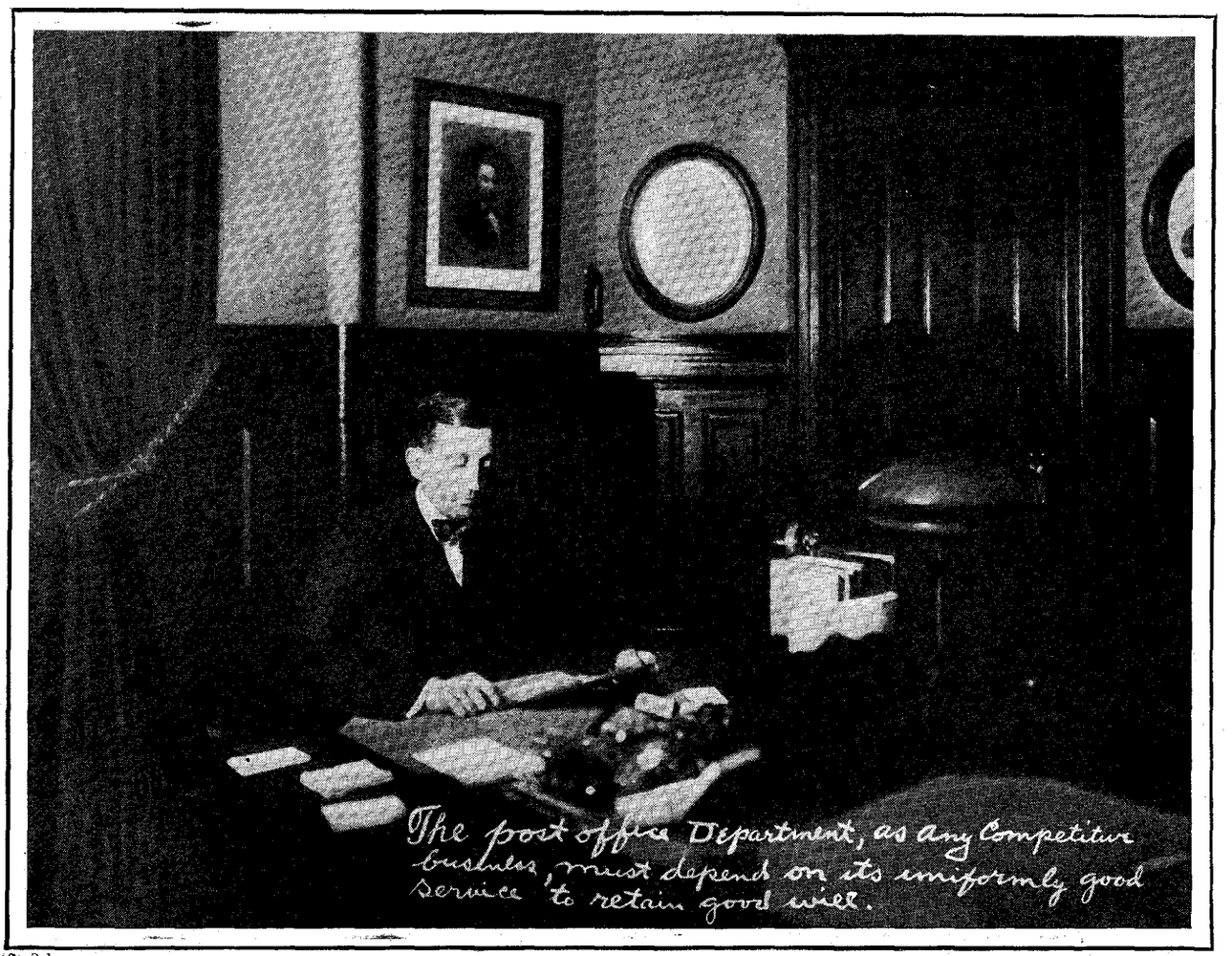
HUMANIZING THE POST OFFICE

BY WILL H. HAYS

POSTMASTER-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

"Service is the supreme commitment of life. I would rejoice to acclaim the era of the Golden Rule and crown it with the autocracy of service."

President Harding's Inaugural Address, March 4, 1921.



(C) Scherer

POSTMASTER-GENERAL HAYS

The caption for this portrait of Mr. Hays was written by himself

SERVE. I like the word. It is the warm, heart-throb syllable in service. We want to restore its warmth in the Postal Service. The cold syllable of that word has been too much in evidence in the Post Office Department.

To make the Postal Service a real service to the public the Postal management and the Postal workers must first start to serve each other. That's why I want to know the workers and why I want them to know me. I must know their problems and they must know mine. Then we together will know how to serve the public, and then the public will help.

Industrial managers are far ahead of the Postal management in application of the co-operative principle between employer and employee. They have tested it for many years. They have found its application brings not only great personal satisfaction, but highly profitable gains. There cannot possibly be anything to take the place of contentment of the workers. Their spirit must be right. Give me this in the Postal Service and we can work wonders. We all know, if we know human nature at all, that it is a pleasure to work—to do our best—if we are appreciated.

That is why I am going to every Postal worker to tell him that I appreciate his work and want to help him. I know as well as I know anything that that same worker will return to the public twofold what is given him.

We must get away in the Post Office service from any idea that labor is a commodity. I would reiterate the suggestion that that idea was abandoned 1921 years ago.

The success or failure of all great enterprises depends, more than upon anything else, upon the spirit in which those who have it to do enter upon their tasks. There is nothing that wins the victory in any task or in any battle except that which is in the heart of the man who fights it or the man engaged in the task, whatever it is. If I sought to improve a situation, I would try first to find what is the individual thought of the person who has the task to do.

It does seem strange that we do not appreciate the value of the application of this principle in dealing with our fellow-men. It never has failed to pay. I have seen the return already. I heard many of the leaders in the Postal organizations, who have been fighting the Postal management in the past, say with emotion that they were ready to take off their coats and go out and tell the other boys to take off their coats and all together put the Postal Department right to the front in service. Yes, I have heard them say that, and they will do it, too. I have received thousands of letters, telegrams, and resolutions from employees telling me that they are going to do it. I know they will do it.

I am not afraid of any man or organization who wants to work, and these boys want to work. If you can get a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hold of a man's hand, look him in the eye, sit down and talk things over with him, and then say a few words of encouragement, you need never fear; that man is just going to work his head off with you. I say *with* you—not only for you. You have to say, "Come, boys;" not, "Go, boys." I know that, and you know that, because we do the very same thing for our friends who appreciate us. It is just plain old common-sense treatment, but we are so obsessed with our own importance we neglect its application.

We have in the Postal Service employees who belong to their unions and some that do not. Some of these unions are affiliated with outside unions and some are not. I have seen and met personally representatives of all of these unions and they have met with my assistants and other supervisory officials. We do not care what the employee belongs to if he only understands what service means, and the employees are understanding it. There is one thing certain, though—the Postal door is going to be so wide open and it is going to be made so attractive inside that there will not be much need for open lobby doors or any open doors elsewhere. We are going to do business among ourselves right down on a partnership basis, each for the other and all for the public.

I have found in the Postal Service, as will be found elsewhere, some officials whose conception of discipline is bordering on abjection. They have so long entertained the notion of their own superiority, or of their own dignity, that they cannot comprehend a partnership relation of official and employee, where kindness, courtesy, and consideration are the very foundation of good discipline.

I think this wrong official attitude may be illustrated by citing the fact that a certain official wrote to a clerk who had appealed his case that he did not feel called upon to submit the case for consideration of the Department. He said it was not deemed a matter of concern of a clerk what the attitude of the Department was relative to his stand in the matter, as supervisory officials were held responsible for the proper administration of the service. Under such an atmosphere prevailing many officials naturally could not exercise humanizing methods even though they heartily approved of them.

I am trying to make it plain to every employee that in the office of the Postmaster-General each has a friend that he or she can tell their troubles to, and also that there is no man or woman, girl or boy, in the Postal Service who cannot discuss with us any phase or any part of the ramifications of the activities we have with relation to our partnership.

I believe that the more we emphasize the fact that employees have the right to appeal their cases, the less they will exercise that privilege. That's the experience of private employers for many years. I am going to sound this far and wide, and I'll wager almost anything that I'll get very few appeals.

We are getting together in the Postal Service. Every official and every employee is beginning to feel that local difficulties must be smoothed out at home, and if they cannot there is something wrong with either one or the other of them.

Personal contact and getting the others' view-point are the plain work tools one requires in fashioning a working body. I want credit to go to the person who does the work, and I propose to see that this is done.

I want every person in the Postal Service to try to do a little better each day the thing he has been doing. I would rather a man would try to do a thing and make a mistake than not to try at all. Some of our efficiency rating systems, no matter how well intended, have actually worked to penalize some who tried. A clerk who finished his run with all mail worked received minus points for his mistakes, and he was at a disadvantage over the clerk who was smart enough to protect his record and neglect his work.

I am determined, in all seriousness, to go to great lengths to develop the spirit in the Department that we are 300,000 partners. The working conditions in many places are unsatisfactory and a large amount of work must be done in that direction. There is no doubt about the quality of our employees. They have the brains and they have the hands to do this job well, but some place along the line the heart has been lost out of the works.

We are going to have a welfare department just as definite in its duties and certain in its functioning as the fiscal department or any other department. It will be in charge of an individual competent to look after it, doing nothing else. Every large industry in the country has adopted welfare measures. This humanizing business is not original. It has been the definite trend of American business for the past generation. Just how far I can go with it in the Post Office Department I don't know, but it is certain that very much can be done, and not in any sense in lieu of wages. All the things that are done successfully for the welfare of the employees in other successful businesses must be done as far as possible in this the greatest of all businesses. Why it has not been seriously gone after before in the Post Office Department I don't know. It is certainly one of the very definite purposes of the days just ahead. If we can improve the spirit and actual conditions of the 300,000 men and women who do this job, that in itself is an accomplishment, and it is just as certain to bring a consequential improvement in the service as to-morrow's sun.

I have said, and I reiterate, that it is my opinion that the postal establishment is most certainly not an institution for profit nor for politics, but an institution for service, and it is the President's most earnest purpose to improve that service. You can't expect men and women to give service if they are to be the shuttlecocks of politics. It would be my very greatest satisfaction if in this effort I contribute a little to the end that the Postal Service be made more and more a desirable career into which the young enter with a certainty that their service will be performed under reasonable conditions for a reasonable wage and for an appreciative people. The men and women who constitute the great arn of employees are doing a distinct Government and public service, and they are entitled to an appreciation commensurate with the efficiency and importance of that service. The first element of a proper appreciа-

(C) Harris & Ewing

MR. HAYS'S PREDECESSOR AND MR. BURLESON'S SUCCESSOR

A. S. Burleson, whose administration of the Post Office Department continued throughout the two terms of President Wilson, is at the left; Mr. Hays is at the right

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(C) Harris & Ewing

NATIONAL OFFICERS AND PRESIDENTS OF THE LARGEST BRANCHES OF THE UNITED NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POST OFFICE CLERKS OF THE UNITED STATES, MEETING WITH POSTMASTER-GENERAL WILL H. HAYS, WHO IS IN THE RIGHT FOREGROUND

tion is to make certain that honest and efficient service shall be honestly recognized and that the merit system shall control without any subterfuge under any circumstances whatsoever. I have said, and I repeat, that my purposes are: First, to make such rectifications as in all decency and fairness must be made to assure a square deal. Second, to strengthen and broaden the Civil Service at every point wherever possible to the end that merit may govern. Third, with absolute fidelity to put the entire service upon a purely business basis so sound and so serviceable that no political party will ever again dare attempt to ignore or evade it ultimately.

Now this is how we are trying in a common-sense manner to build up the morale of the Postal Service.

We are going to deal the same way with those outside the Postal Service who have complaints against it. We are going to hear them all. They are going to get the same just consideration as every postal worker. Co-operation outside and inside the service is our slogan. Team-work all around is the magician's wand that alone can make our Governmental services what they should be and what they can be and what they will be if only that means is applied. You may regard me, if you please, as the wheel horse of the team, to do the hardest work and to bear the responsibility. That's what I'm in office for. But I ask for co-operation from all to whatever extent that may be practicable and for helpful criticism. We are all engaged in working out the same transcendent problem of making our Postal Service, as is our Government, the best in the world.

THE LETTER-CARRIER

BY HARRY LEE

Reprinted by request from The Outlook of June 16, 1920

THEY'RE a new stunt of your Uncle Sam's,
The Public Service Hospitals,
Anybody that's workin' for him,
If he's sick,
Can come in
And be cared for.

Men hurt in the war
Fill most of 'em now,
Soldiers and marines and sailors, an' that,
A lot of 'em kids
Just out o' their teens,
So it sure knocked us cold—
You know what I mean—
When last week they fetches
An old grandpa in
On a stretcher.
A postman they said he was.
Seems he'd skidded-like,
On a rainy step
Up in Harlem somewheres . . .
Got a leg broke.

'Course us guys goes in,
W'en the splint's on, an' all,
An' gee, he's a prince!
Hair, what he has of it, white,
White as a cigarette paper . . .
The face of him like an old sea-dog,
Used to all weathers, y' know . . .
His two eyes, blue,
Twinklin' . . .
Young-lookin'
Like he was twenty.

"Sure is tough luck for yez, dad,"
Tom Flynn says.
An' dad he smiles up at us,
Out of his bed—
Funny old kind of a crooked smile—
And he 'lows:
"Well, boys, if 'twa'n't fer me wife,
I think I'd be mighty content,
Just waitin' on here, till it knits,
Hearin' you young fellers joshin',
An' pickin' your banjos,
An' singin'.
But it's her, the old lady, y' know,
It's her I keep frettin' about.
See, it's more'n fifty years
Since I missed a night home . . .
As good as a clock, me wife says,
Never late,
'Cept when it snowed,
Or 'round holiday times,
When the mail's extra heavy, y' know.

If 'twa'n't for the wife . . .
First thing she says,
About this:
'Don't s'pose 'twill be long, do you, doc?'
An' the doctor says:
'Well, old bones knit slow, ma'am,
You never can tell. . . .'
'Not as much as a year . . .?'
'Mebby less . . . mebby more . . .
As I say, ma'am,
You never can tell.'

I see the look in her face,
But she's plucky, the old girl, she is.
We've weathered worse storms,
Her and me . . .
Sickness, y' know, 's bound to come,
Rheumatics and colds . . .
Out rain and shine . . .
Pay's never too high,
And when you're laid up now and then
And it's docked . . .
It's pretty . . . hard . . . pickin' . . .
I swan. . . .

Still, till this accident come,
'Twas mighty few days I was off . . .
Letter-carryin' now, I have been,
In New York,
For fifty years, yes, sir,
And more. . . .

It's her livin' that frets me the most . . .
Small savin's don't last,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With the rents like they are
And the food . . .
'Course she'll get two-thirds o' my pay,
While I'm in here,
'Count o' my fall . . .
If they fix me up,
Good!
If they can't, they won't shoot me,
They'll just turn me loose,
Like an old hoss, into the pasture,
Only pasturin's poor in New York,
When you're my age,
An' out of a job!"

Then Tom Flynn breaks in . . .
"You don't mean to tell me," says he,
"They've no pay for a feller like you
That's served for a lifetime. . . ."

"Well, they let us come here,"
Says old dad,
"With you fellers 'at served in the war . . .
Our service was different . . . see?"

An' Flynn shouts . . .
"By gad, pop, 'twas you, and your like,
Kep' home-fires burnin'
Both sides o' the sea . . .
Letters, letters from home,
And letters from us
To the home-folks . . .
I say it's a rank shame," he roars;
"If that ain't service for U. S. A.,
What is? . . .
What do you say, you guys,
Am I right?"
And down to a man,
We answers to Tom Flynn,
"I'LL say!"

"Pop," says Tom,
"If a pension ain't comin' to you,
'Tain't to Bill there, nor Slim,
Nor to me . . ."
And he brings his fist down
With a bang.

But all pop says is . . .
"It's about her I'm worryin',
Alone there . . . and short o' things . . .
An' time passin' on. . . ."

IF ENGLAND WERE WHAT ENGLAND SEEMS

BY HAROLD E. SCARBOROUGH

ON Friday, April 9, his Most Gracious Majesty George V mobilized the army, navy, and air forces of the United Kingdom, and furthermore issued an appeal for volunteers for the national defense.

"We are faced," declaimed Lloyd George to the House of Commons, "with civil war." Or words to that effect.

And so it came to pass that quite a few American journalists in London did not leave their offices until the wee sma' hours of Saturday morning. Indeed, the Prime Minister's alarming words seemed justifiable. A million miners were striking; there were more than two million other workers unemployed or on short time; and a further million railway men and transport workers had threatened to add themselves to the workless army and to paralyze the Kingdom industrially.

Inasmuch as London's tubes and busses stop running shortly after midnight, I took a taxi home. It came from the usual line in the center of Aldwych, opposite the Waldorf Hotel, in response to my whistle; and its chauffeur said "Sir," as British taximen do. Nor was there any attempt to overcharge me for the four-mile journey, the price of which was the equivalent of 90 cents in American money. No evidences of civil commotion here.

I mentioned as much to the driver, and he snorted.

"Do you want to know when the blinkin' revolution'll come, guvnor?" he asked. Fishing out a newspaper, he held it close to his lamps, so that the reproduction of a marble statue entitled "Labour Awakening" was visible.

"When that blighter comes to life," he answered his own query.

And I am inclined to think that he was nearer the mark than the men at Westminster and Windsor.

There is no other country on earth where a week such as the one ending April 9 was would not have culminated in very grave disorders, if not in revolution and anarchy. Armies are not mobilized for trivial reasons. One leaves the reader to picture what would have happened in New York, in Paris, in Rome, the morning after the apparent crisis had been reached.

Keystone

PICCADILLY CIRCUS

"More than one foreigner in London had visions, that Friday night, of barricades in the Strand and artillery in Piccadilly Circus"

London was quite unconcerned. It saw several reasons why a social revolution was not going to take place as advertised. Among them were:

1. It had never happened before.

2. One couldn't revolt over the week-end. The masses wanted to play football and the classes to go to their country homes.

3. Keen recollections of a certain August day in 1914, when the army was mobilized, and of the four following years.

So long as one tries to understand England by rote one is lost. One must accept it for the gigantic paradox that it is, and appraise it by instinct, not by reason. The method is not infallible, but it is the only one that works at all. More than one foreigner in London had visions, that Friday night, of barricades in the Strand and artillery in Piccadilly Circus. That was reason. Very few Londoners thought the matter more than a beastly nuisance. That was instinct.

I do not mean to convey the impression that London was not at all alarmed. It was. There was an appreciable rise in the rental price of bicycles, due to the general belief that there certainly would be a railway strike and that one would bicycle or walk. There were brisk inquiries for rooms at downtown hotels. Employers of labor foresaw that they might lose quite a bit of money, and prepared to cancel contracts ruthlessly. But the man in the street, the chap who says, "The Government ought to do something about it," was three parts befuddled and one part annoyed. Beyond that, he wondered what things were coming to, and whether or not he would have to postpone his vacation. The possibility of revolution lay in a dimension without his comprehension; was as unintelligible as Einstein's theory.

British imperturbability, the *phlegm*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

britannique that the French love to make fun of, is a queer thing. Superficially, the Briton is not at all the silent, reserved man he is often pictured to be. He is occasionally garrulous; he will cheer and otherwise give vent to his emotions as lustily as any American; he has been known to speak to perfect strangers, and to speak courteously and softly. In a word, he is just the ordinary human being as one finds him under conditions of twentieth-century civilization (which remark is entirely without ironical intent).

It is just when the outsider decides that British stolidity is a myth that it is manifested. It is when the stage is set for revolution; when Frank Hodges, the miners' leader, declares, "If we go down, the nation will go with us!" and when a general death struggle between capital and labor is brewing, that that steadying instinct, the heritage of centuries of rights won by political action instead of force, comes into play.

Very frequently it is late, as witness the case of Ireland to-day. But, as I said in a previous article in The Outlook, the reason that Ireland is a problem is because Britain isn't interested in it. The man in the street hasn't yet had Ireland presented to him in terms of a national menace, despite what the world may think about it.

The present industrial convulsion (for it is far from settled as I write) is something very definite and tangible. It was well epitomized by a writer in the "Daily Mail:"

"The trouble is that we are trying to lead a three-pound life on a thirty-shilling income."

Americans do not need to be told that a slump in business started last fall. That slump hit England hard. The pound sterling was (and is) worth only about $4 in the land which is the great mine of raw materials; but it is worth from 25 shillings to £20 in the Continental countries to which England exports. Result: Manufacturing costs are unduly high, and buyers can't afford to pay in their depreciated currencies. The Sheffield steel manufacturer abandons the idea of getting that new Rolls-Royce and the Birmingham puddler registers at his local Labor Exchange for the £1 a week unemployment pay.

What is the answer? Obviously, so long as the exchanges are unstable, to cut down on the next item of production costs—labor.

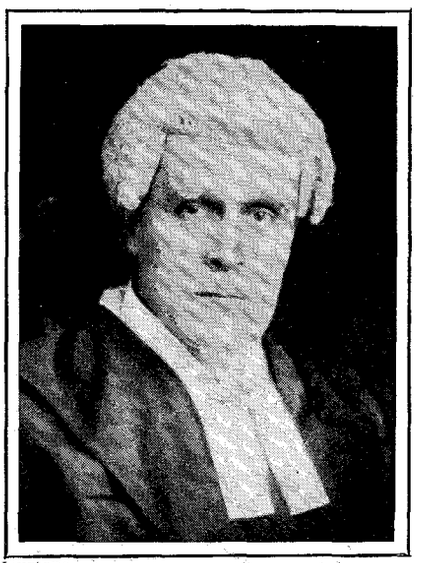
But Labor (spelled this time with a capital L) doesn't like the idea. Labor was underpaid in England before 1914; there is no getting away from that fact. The submerged tenth was very much of a reality. But Labor had always been underpaid, and the world went on, and there didn't seem very much chance to do anything about it.

Then came war, and the apotheosis of Labor. As the workingman had been underpaid prior to 1914, in the five years which followed he was grossly overpaid. And it went to his head, just as it did in America.

But do not lose sight of the fact that Labor was having, for the first time in its life, a taste of how the other half lived and that it wanted more. It had waited long enough for it.

So much by way of generalization. Now, as 1921 begins, one finds the British employer determined to cut down wages. He is not entirely selfish about it; he realizes that commodity prices can never come down very far until labor prices do. But the laborer is suspicious that he will lose his bounty and his lower prices to boot. It is a case of both standing on the bank and urging, "You dive first!" but with Labor determined that it will never go back to its 1914 level, come what may.

Take, for instance, the case of the miner. Prior to 1914 he was underpaid,



Keystone

JUSTICE SIR JOHN SANKEY

"The Sankey Commission, a body . . . presided over by Justice Sankey, . . . recommended that the mines be operated as a unit"

and the Sankey award specifically allowed him a two shilling a day raise, half of which was given, not on account of higher wages, but to better his standard of living. Under Government control of coal the Continental buyer was charged an extortionate price, and the laborer benefited thereby. But the aforesaid Continental buyer became unable to buy, and the Government began to lose money to the tune of £5,000,000 a month on the miners' wages. On February 23, 1921, it was announced that coal decontrol, scheduled for August 1, would be advanced to March 31.

That meant that the industry would go back to the status of a private concern. It meant lower wages, and it meant the end of the national wage arrangement.

This latter is a pet scheme of the miners. Some of the British mines, or pits, as they are known here, are easy to work and pay big profits. Others are old and outworked, and really operate at a loss. The miners' contention is that these unprofitable mines are analogous to departments of a big concern—departments which show no return, but which are nevertheless part of the whole, and which should be maintained.

"Lump all the profits and all the losses, and the profits will be the bigger," he says; and this is what he means by nationalization of the mines. Without going into the technicalities of the case, there is this to be said for his contention: The Sankey Commission, a body composed of representatives of the miners, the mine-owners, and the public, and presided over by Justice Sankey, in an inquest held during the war recommended that the mines be operated as a unit. On the other hand, the average citizen is inclined to say that mines being operated at a loss had better be shut down.

The coal-owners, naturally, couldn't see things as the miners did. So they sent out notices to the miners that wages would be reduced, on decontrol of the industry, until each district showed a profit on its own standing.

The miners retorted with threats of a strike.

The owners intimated that the decision meant nothing in their lives.

The miners struck. Moreover, at midnight on March 31 they ordered all the "safety men"—the men who work the pumps that cope with the thousands of gallons of water which pour or seep into the mines every hour—also to quit their jobs. This was something which had never been done before.

At this stage reinforcements arrived for the miners in the shape of the Triple Alliance (which, incidentally, cracked under the strain of its first real test). The Triple Alliance is the super-labor organization of Great Britain, and comprises the miners, the transport workers, and the railway men. It was formed in 1915, largely due to the efforts of Robert Smillie, the erstwhile President of the Miners' Federation, who some months before the present strike retired to the seclusion of his native village of Larkhall, Scotland, and it has approximately 2,000,000 members.

After the usual series of conferences and counter-conferences which characterize every big British strike, and which usually are quite a waste of time, the Triple Alliance delivered its ultimatum:

"If the miners and the owners are not negotiating before midnight on Tuesday, April 12, we all strike."

The stumbling-block to negotiations was the Government's insistence that the safety men must return to work before parleys could be considered. The miners retorted that the safety men were their most powerful arguments.

The man in the street didn't understand the quibble. He knew that the miners were said to be demanding more than the industry could pay, and he had a strong suspicion that the deficit would come from his pocket.

As a matter of fact, the miners' old weekly wages and those offered them by the owners averaged about as follows:

	Minimum	Maximum
New wages	9.25	15.50
Old wages	$16.00	$20.00

And yet one London despatch to an American newspaper said that the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

miners were demanding an American scale of wages! One can live in England on the equivalent of $16 a week. Millions are doing it. One does not live well; one exists. One cannot live on $9.25.

Now try to put yourself in the place of the other members of the Triple Alliance. "Let the miners fight their own battles," is your first thought. But your second is: "Steady on! 'Arf a mo'! What about my own wages?"

So the Triple Alliance threatened to strike, and the country apparently veered toward the edge of civil war.

During the next week, when all union labor in England was talking of a general strike, there came the flood tide of Labor's power. But the Government's energetic preparations to "carry on" had undermined the morale of the intending strikers; the mine-owners made a new and more generous offer (to forego all profits for an indefinite period), which the miners refused, and by doing so alienated themselves from the rest of the Alliance; and the general strike collapsed.

The answer? That may be left to the conferences which the miners, their employers, and the Government still are holding. It is probable that some sort of a truce will be patched up. The complete solution is far in the future, and the man who knows what it is will be the man who won the peace.

My concern is with showing that for Britain that solution is not, and will not be, revolution.

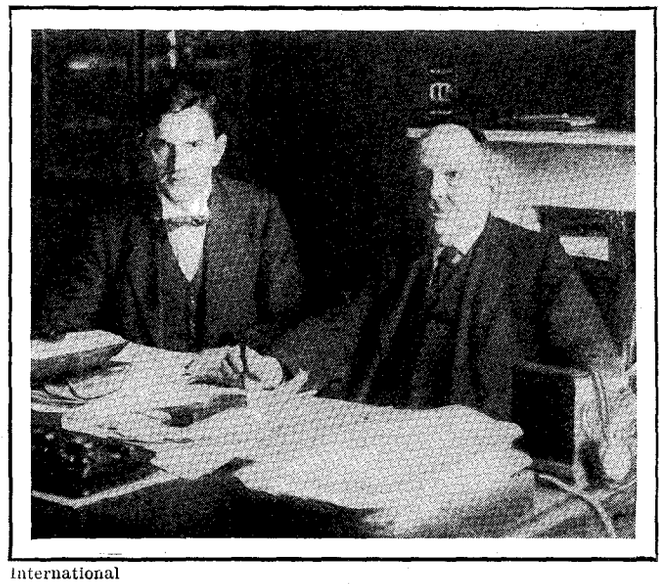
On Saturday evening, April 9, the newspapers of London announced that "it was like 1914" again. But it wasn't. Everywhere there was plastered the "Appeal to Loyal Citizens—Male," which was the call for volunteers for the new national defense force—a sort of industrial militia. Beside it one found the proclamation calling up the army reserves—brief, black and white, official, with the royal arms and the "George R" at the top. And yes, there were queues of civilians at the recruiting offices.

Nevertheless it was not like 1914. There was no such spirit in the air. Most of the men in those queues were men who had already seen behind mobilization proclamations—men who remembered Ypres, Mons, the Somme, Cambrai, Anzac. Once before his Majesty had been graciously pleased to call them to his service, and they knew what it meant.

There was no enthusiasm. Many responded from a sense of duty. Others (it must be admitted) answered because two-and-fourpence a day and "all found" seemed better than sleeping on the Embankment, where it is decidedly chilly these April days.

Moreover, it wasn't Germans they were being called out against. It was Englishmen—the railway brakeman in the next block, the truck-driver in the flat downstairs.

"I tell you straight, they can mobilize me, but I'll never fire on an Englishman," spoke up a young reservist on a tube train. There were dozens of other passengers, of all ages and callings, and not one found occasion to say anything more violent than "That's right!" or "I don't blame you!"



TO THE LEFT FRANK HODGES, SECRETARY OF THE MINERS' FEDERATION, AND HERBERT SMITH TO THE RIGHT

"The *pro tem.* President of the Miners' Federation is Herbert Smith, but he has been entirely overshadowed by the young and fiery Hodges"

International

No bands played; there were no sweethearts to send their lovers off to the wars. One could not escape the idea that this was mobilization as it should be, stripped of the pageantry and the glamour and the trappings that usually lend it a romantic appeal. It certainly did not furnish half of the picture for the popularly accepted idea of the early days of the revolution.

And who are these men who were cast for the part of the leaders of the mob?

The three chief Labor figures were Frank Hodges, Secretary of the Miners' Federation; J. H. Thomas, President of the National Union of Railwaymen; and Robert Williams, Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation. It will be noticed that in two cases the secretaries, not the presidents, of the unions are mentioned as being the most prominent. The *pro tem.* President of the Miners' Federation is Herbert Smith, but he has been entirely overshadowed by the young and fiery Hodges. Williams, likewise, big, raw-boned, self-confident, is more in the public eye than his superior officer.

"Who's Who" does not mention Hodges. He is a man of a pleasing personality, a former mine worker, something of a fire-eater, but an able economist. He writes letters to the London "Times," and the "Times" prints them.

James Henry Thomas, M.P., according to "Who's Who," commenced work at nine years of age as an errand boy. Finally he got to be an engine cleaner, then a fireman, and later an engineer. He is distinctly moderate in tendency.

The personality of England's Labor leaders furnishes one basis for the assertion that revolution will not be fomented under their guidance. The majority of them could hold their own in debate with professors of economics. Some of them are (as Robert Smillie interrupted a strike conference last fall to whisper to the writer of this article) frankly out for the abolition of the present social order. But they all have too much sense to advocate forcible overthrow of government.

In the first place, they would be cutting away their own supports. The Labor Party numbers more than 3,000,000 voters in its ranks; it is by far the most formidable part of the Parliamentary Opposition. A Labor Government may or may not come in the near future. Lloyd George, who has swung clear around the circle from extreme Radicalism to extreme Toryism, says that if only four per cent of the electorate were to switch allegiance it would mean that Labor would sweep the country. And if Labor did, it would set about the nationalization of public utilities and about several other measures. It would not confiscate; see the text of the bill prepared by J. H. Thomas for nationalization of the railways, and providing for the full compensation of the present shareholders (rather more, by the way, than we did for the manufacturers of alcohol when we decided they had to get out of business).

Nor is Labor unused to governing. The mayors of numerous London boroughs are Labor men. There are hundreds of Labor mayors, Labor councilors, in other cities. Labor's record is not very brilliant; to take only one instance, the rates, or local taxes, have gone up as much, if not more, in the Labor boroughs than in the others. But the vision of a British Terror, of Anglo-Saxon Robespierres and Dantons, is merely fantastic.

The British press realizes this. Read the London "Times," the "Daily News," the "Westminster Gazette," the Manchester "Guardian," and one will find the workers' case allowed its full and fair share of claim to public recognition. It is the hopelessly prejudiced paper, like the Tory "Morning Post" or the "Daily Herald" (Labor's only daily in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

London, remarkably poor as propaganda and worse as news), which sees only one side of the case.

Let it be repeated, the worker and his employer are far from lying down together like the lion and the lamb. As this is written, the miners are still idle; nor does it follow that if they go back to work they may not soon come out again. But no prospective visitors need cancel steamship bookings on this account.

The best text-book for studying England from across the ocean was written by one Rudyard Kipling, who was born in India, and a part of it may well be reproduced here:

> If England were what England seems
> And only putty, brass, and paint,
> And not the England of our dreams—
> 'Ow quick we'd chuck her—but she ain't!

That is sentimental, but it is also good sound psychology.

JAPAN IN A WORLD OF ARMS

I—TURNING FROM MARS TO MAMMON

BY HENRY W. KINNEY

"THE Prussia of the Orient!" The phrase rings well, but, militaristic as Japan remains to a great extent, recent years have wrought changes which render characterization far more complex. To-day the navy, even though the army is far more intelligent and in much closer touch with the trend of the times, has the support of the people and captures the lion's share of the appropriations, while, most important of all, big business exercises an influence over policy which is as potent as it is subtle, as powerful as it is unknown outside Japan, where its generalship is not even yet fully appreciated by the common people.

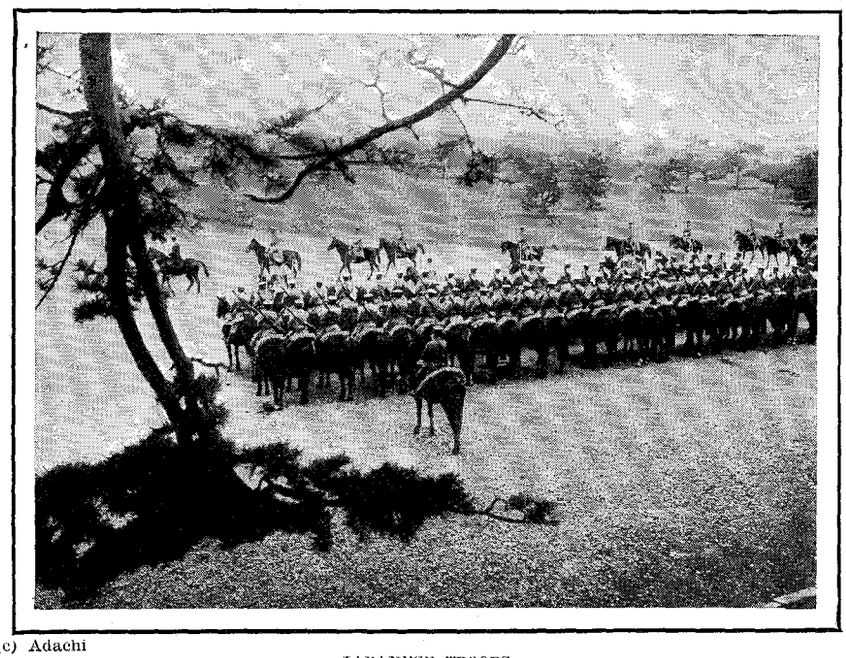
The ambitions of Japan have changed direction, as world opinion has changed since the war. The ideal of political dominance with the sword is, reluctantly probably, being replaced by the more insidious ambition of economic domination of the Far East, and the army and, particularly, the navy have become in the main the potent tools with which Japan seeks to fulfill what she believes to be her destiny as economic mistress of the east coast of Asia, from north to south. The great business houses of the Empire dream of control of raw materials, by means of which they expect to make Japan the England of the Orient. As Japan, after the defeat of France in 1870, chose victorious Prussia as her model, so she is now, more or less unconsciously perhaps, following the lead of the British victor. As a matter of fact, this course is the more natural of the two because of the geographic position of the Empire and the fact that her tendency towards overpopulation makes necessary her change from an agricultural to a manufacturing nation if she is to support within Nippon and its surrounding territories her increasing millions, for which emigration is being rendered more and more impracticable by growing antipathy in America, Canada, Australia, and elsewhere.

Japan became a military nation as a matter of course. In the days of feudalism the soldier was predominant, and even after the Restoration the best brains of the country devoted themselves to the army. Even to-day, although the formerly despised trader has now become a great power in the land and enrolls many of the most promising youths under his banner, the army still commands by far the best men in the Government service. Other departments have their share of competent men, but, generally speaking, all are more or less strangled by labyrinthic tangles of bureaucratic red tape. While many of them furnish food for constant wonder that inefficiency and ignorance can be tolerated on the scale in which it exists, the War Department, with its quiet, constantly alert efficiency, furnishes a vivid contrast to the rest. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that Japan owes her position as one of the Great Powers almost entirely to her military prowess, renders it easy to understand that, in spite of all, the army retains a powerful position in the shaping of the destiny of the Empire.

On the other hand, the army has during the last few years become increasingly unpopular with the people at large. Gradually realization of the fact that militarism is looked upon with repugnance the world over has been brought home to Japan. One cannot help contrasting the time of the Russo-Japanese War, when Japan was the world's favorite, with to-day, when she in vain scans the horizon for a sincere friend. Increasing evidences of the growing distrust on the part of other nations of the nation as a military Empire has led to placing the blame therefor at the door of the War Department, and violent condemnation thereof in the press has become common.

Politicians, university men, and others do not hesitate to criticise the anomalous condition whereby the Foreign Office may follow one policy and the General Staff another, leading to the apparent insincerities which have caused Japan's unpopularity. The War Minister still possesses the unique privilege of reporting direct to the Emperor, while other Ministers must bring their problems before the Cabinet, and, as a consequence, the War Department enjoys a power of initiative entirely its own, which occasionally leads to the army following its own desires without much care as to what may be the policy of the Foreign Office or the Cabinet in general. The militarists are inclined to deny that this is the case. A very high army officer, in the closest possible touch with the War Minister, gave me an explanation which seems illuminative. It was at the time of the discussion of withdrawal from the farther regions of Siberia, and he used this as his text.

"Suppose that the Cabinet decides that we must evacuate," he said. "The



(c) Adachi

JAPANESE TROOPS

"The army retains a powerful position in the shaping of the destiny of the Empire. On the other hand, the army has during the last few years become increasingly unpopular"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War Department will certainly follow its dictates. If, however, for the sake of argument, the Cabinet decides that we must evacuate within, say, ten days, and we find that, for strategic reasons, so rapid a withdrawal is impracticable, we shall follow our own ideas in regard to the question of time. It should also be remembered that we are far better informed with regard to foreign affairs than is the Foreign Office, as we have men abroad who live in foreign countries for decades, where the diplomats remain only for years, and our resources for obtaining information are far more complete."

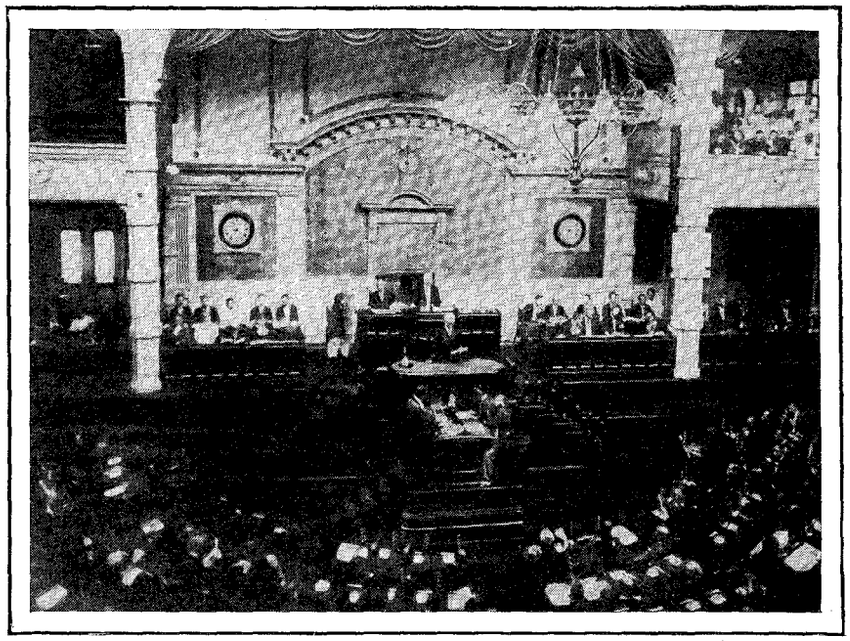
This is literally true. The military men have at their command vast funds, while the diplomatic service is constantly cramped for lack of such, and even the latest budget reduces the already scant appropriations allowed it. Thus, while it is the popular thing to rail at the weakness of the Foreign Office, it is obviously difficult for that service, even though it contains many good men, to compete with the army with its Fortunatus purse. The Navy Department presents still another aspect. It is extremely reactionary, a bewildering tangle of bureaucratic inefficiency, in striking contrast to the machine-like efficiency of the army. "Administratively the navy is still in the seventeenth century," said a bright young official with much foreign experience to whom I gave my impression. "It contains a number of up-to-date young men, who will some day bring it up to a modern standard; but a lot of old fogies will have to die out first."

Under these circumstances, it would seem difficult at first blush to understand why the Japanese public storms at army increases, why it condemns the expenditure of lives and money in Siberia, proposed increases of the forces in Korea, and similar army measures, while at the same time it declares its willingness to shoulder the gigantic expense involved in the creation of the proposed new navy, the so-called "eight-and-eight" programme, which is to amount during the coming fiscal year alone to 499,000,000 yen, as against the 263,000,000 yen proposed for the army.

That this sentiment is found among the great masses of the people, who, having no power of political expression, do but little thinking of their own, is easily understood, since the sensational press constantly points to America as the potential enemy, and this in spite of the gathering clouds in Siberia, which, unless the present course of events changes direction materially, is bound to cause a conflict between Japan and Russia, when a fleet will be of small value, whereas the army will be faced with the vital task of keeping the Bolshevik flame away from the Korean tinder.

The opinion of *hoi polloi* at present counts for little, however. It is the voice of big business which is potent.

Those in control of the nation are rapidly turning from the temple of Mars to that of Mammon, and it is because the navy rather than the army is a suitable tool for the future planned by the financiers that the former has become the favorite child.



IMPERIAL DIET OF JAPAN ADDRESSED BY PRIME MINISTER HARA

"The growth in the strength of the political parties," says Dr. Yoshino, of the Imperial University at Tokyo, "threatens the Elder Statesmen and the militarists"

Manufacture and creation of a great export trade have become the ambition of Japan. The Spartan patriotism of the days of the great Meiji and his group has given way to the seeking of pleasanter rewards of trade. The day when the individual submerged his ego in the common quest for greater glory for the Empire has been replaced by self-seeking individualism, when men place their own gain first and look upon the advance of the state as the means and not the end. Furthermore, the money powers, which more and more are coming into control of the steering gear of the Empire, realize that the world no longer countenances ruthless conquest by the sword; so where they cannot go over they go around, and, giving up the idea of political dominance over contiguous parts of Asia, they are content to let others look forward to enjoyment of the empty shell of government, as long as they themselves have the meat of the raw-material resources contained within these territories. Here lies the secret of the haste with which Japan is building her commercial fortifications in Shantung, Manchuria, and, more recently, in East Siberia and Saghalien, with their resources of minerals, food, timber, etc.

Japan has good reason for her activities. While the constant cry of her overcrowded islands is exaggerated to the extent that the home country still affords room for a number of millions in Hokkaido and in certain other undeveloped sections, development of these affords only a postponement of the day when Japan will be compelled to find a means for providing for her surplus population. Shut off from emigration to other countries bordering on the Pacific, she has no choice but to condense the teeming millions within her own borders by changing her nature entirely from an agricultural into a manufacturing nation.

Realization of this plan involves not so much political conquest of territory as command of raw materials. The former being impractical under the new code of morals adopted by the world, the latter affords the logical means for salvation. Japan's position is becoming like that of England. She has obtained a merchant fleet with which to bring raw materials to her factories and to carry the finished products to market. Like England, Japan will be at the mercy of any Power which can blockade her and shut off raw materials and food supplies from the outside. The war taught Japan several lessons, and not least of these was that demonstrated when danger of success of Germany's submarine campaign brought home to England the fact that her very existence depended upon the efficiency of her fleet. Here, rather than in any hope of aggressive campaigning, lies the reason for Japan's willingness to sacrifice for the sake of her navy.

It is thus easy to understand that even the most avaricious captain of industry is ready to support the great fleet programme, for his future safety depends thereon. The manner of the exercise of his influence on the Government is, however, unique to Japan and is based on a difference in ethics between the East and the West which the latter finds it hard to understand or condone, namely, the placing of political leaders in financial dependence on the great merchant houses which control the Empire's commerce and finance, and the utter content on the part of the greater part of the nation that this be so. Public office in Japan is miserably paid. The Premier's annual salary is but $6,000, and the other Cabinet officers are paid in proportion. A political career, with its banquets and multitudinous other obligations, is enormously expensive, and no

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one but a very rich man may succeed without material support from wealthy backers. "Geisha politicians" the vernacular press calls them; men who, like the butterfly charmers, are kept, in return for favors, by plutocratic patrons, and, while a few leaders manage to remain independent—Premier Hara, for instance, is said to be so—the scandal of the last session of the Diet was significant. Then, when the Opposition, seizing a political opportunity rather than from any excess of virtue, quoted chapter and verse to show how Cabinet members had taken flagrant advantage of their positions for purposes of personal gain, they produced sufficient smoke to indicate that some truth lay in such allegations, even though the control which the Government party had in the Diet was abused to defeat the demand for an investigation.

The soldier remains apparently dominant in Japan, while the navy is nearing the day when it will possess a tonnage heretofore only dreamed of, but it is to neither of these that the world must look when it seeks to forecast the future policies of Japan; it is big business, grown into full strength through its Danae-like experience during the war, which will direct the destinies of the Empire.

II—THE GOVERNMENT, PUBLIC OPINION, AND THE PRESS

FROM INFORMATION FURNISHED BY I. KAWAKAMI AND SIDNEY L. GULICK

PREMIER HARA, of Japan, says: "The statement that Japan is building a navy against an imaginary foe, and that that foe is the United States, is fantastic nonsense."

"Even when her present programme is completed," added the Prime Minister, "Japan's naval strength will still be far less than would be required for an attack on the United States. . . . The purpose of our construction is very clear and simple—to defend our coasts and commerce, nothing more. . . . While other Powers continue to expand their navies Japan cannot afford to weaken hers. If the others agree to stop, no country would enter on such an agreement more gladly than would Japan."

In the same spirit, Japan's alleged attempt to compete with the American Navy is called "absurd and preposterous" by Admiral Kato, of the Japanese navy and Minister of Marine in the Japanese Cabinet. He emphasizes the fact that Japan's project to have eight battleships and eight battle-cruisers not more than eight years old is not necessarily irreducible. He intimates that if all the naval Powers would agree to a "naval holiday" he would be willing to enter on such an engagement and would not insist upon the completion of the Government's naval programme. He adds: "The Japanese Government joined the League of Nations, and in so doing supported the principle of the reduction of armaments. Whenever there is an international conference on armament reduction, I will be only too glad to co-operate with other Governments to give effect to this principle."

So much for the Government's attitude. Now for the people's.

"The 8-8 plan involves further increase of already intolerable taxes, and at the same time cripples every other movement for national welfare," objects Yukio Ozaki, ex-Minister of Justice. Moreover, as he says:

> To devote fifty per cent of a nation's total expenditures for its army and navy is an example unparalleled in the history of the world. This policy is causing serious diplomatic, political, and economic friction and is isolating Japan from the rest of the civilized world. Japan is inevitably suspected as a militaristic nation. This can be corrected only by appropriate deeds. . . . Japan's objective is England and America. But the more we compete with those powerful nations, the greater will the disparity become.

Animated by these convictions, last February, in the lower house of the Japanese Parliament, Mr. Ozaki, a member of that body, presented a resolution favoring armament reduction. The resolution was overwhelmingly defeated. This defeat, says Mr. I. Kawakami, a Japanese writer, amazed and disappointed the Japanese people. He proceeds:

> Mr. Ozaki of course felt the need of at least a small navy, but realized that naval competition would reduce Japan far below her normal power, because of her scanty resources and industrial capacity. He argued, therefore, even from the standpoint of an adequate defense of the country, that such a naval holiday would be beneficial to Japan. Mr. Ozaki also believes there is no great military Power from which war is to be feared at present. Japan should therefore also greatly decrease her army, or at least should support the League of Nations in plans for general disarmament.

In his own opinion, three facts contributed to the defeat of Mr. Ozaki's resolution: (1) His many bitter political enemies. (2) The desire of both parties to gain power in the Cabinet, which can be done only through the favor of the military party. (3) The fact that Parliament does not truly represent the spirit of the people and is not based on universal suffrage.

(C) Keystone

KEI HARA, JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER

"The statement that Japan is building a navy against an imaginary foe, and that foe is the United States," says Premier Hara, "is fantastic nonsense"

Mr. Ikuo Oyama, former professor in Waseda University, says in the "Taikwan" (which is Japanese for "Outlook"):

> It is no wonder that Mr. Ozaki's resolution was defeated when we remember that Parliament . . . is representative of nationalism. Proposals for the increase of armaments or for the completion of national defense, so long as they are not alarmingly extreme, will be accepted by Parliament, but we can never expect that a proppsition for disarmament will gain the support of a majority. For instance, one of the four planks of the Seiyukai [the political party of which Premier Hara is the head] is "The Completion of National Defense," while the Kensikai [the Opposition] has a similar policy.

Dr. Sakuzo Yoshino, of the Imperial University at Tokyo, also explains as follows: "The growth in the strength of the political parties threatens the Elder Statesmen and the militarists; they are attempting to retain their hold by preventing these parties from making decisions regarding military matters."

Mr. Ozaki, undismayed, carried his propaganda to the people. He lectured in the various universities and large cities. So many came that an admission fee had to be charged. Even then many were turned away from the doors. Straw votes were taken; nine-tenths of those voting favored disarmament in some degree. Even so conservative a daily as the Tokyo "Jiji Shimpo" (Current Problems) was moved to say: "When we realize that the influence of militarism has been a hindrance and a menace both to internal and international policies, it will be seen that the necessity for military reduction is not solely a financial problem."

It is clear, according to this and other Japanese papers, that the Japanese naval programme depends closely on our own. It is also clear that the Japanese people would welcome a conference of Great Britain, the United States, and Japan looking towards an effective

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agreement in the direction of a radical curtailment of armaments.

Regarding Mr. Borah's disarmament resolution in the United States Senate, the Tokyo "Yomiuri" (the "Town Crier") recently remarked:

> It is fundamentally necessary to arrive at a political agreement among the three countries, with a view to removing international bad feeling. . . . In this country, if the present armament competition is to continue indefinitely, financial and economic pressure may drive people towards Bolshevism. . . . If the peoples of Japan, Great Britain, and America calmly consider the situation, they will find that the present tendency is both foolish and dangerous.

The Tokyo "Nichi Nichi" ("Every Day") concludes:

> Japan is only compelled to proceed with the prearranged plan because of the necessity of self-preservation. We believe the case is also the same with Great Britain and America.
>
> But, unless the question of disarmament is solved, no fundamental solution of financial problems is possible. In Japan many important social measures also are sacrificed for the sake of armaments. . . . Even if no agreement be proposed by America, Japan should take steps to curtail armament expenses.

Another important paper of Tokyo, the "Asahi" (the "Morning Sun"), thus concludes:

> Of all the nations, America is making the greatest efforts to enlarge her armaments. As a result, it is America that can most effectively urge disarmament. If such a proposal is made by her, Great Britain and Japan . . . will enthusiastically respond.

The first step, therefore, would seem to be "up to us."

"THE EVERLASTINGLY FAVORED NATION"[1]

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE FRENCH PRIME MINISTER

BY STÉPHANE LAUZANNE

EDITOR OF "LE MATIN," PARIS

ONLY a few hours intervened between the arrival of Mr. René Viviani, returning from New York, and the departure of Prime Minister Briand, leaving for London. And Mr. Briand spent these few hours in conference with Mr. René Viviani; this shows the great importance, in the days we are passing through, which the Government of the French Republic attaches to all that comes from America.

Prime Minister Briand also received me for some length of time, and it goes without saying that he spoke exclusively about America. His opinion regarding all things about America is extremely simple.

"I cannot," said he, "conceive any other policy for a French Minister, whosoever he be, than to maintain the closest, the most trusting and affectionate relations with the great sister Republic. I consider as a national calamity any shadow which would come between America and France. And I deem it a national happiness all that unites and brings nearer to each other the two countries. Franco-American friendship is a dogma for me, an unalterable, intangible, and sacred thing. . . ."

I told the Prime Minister that this feeling, in my opinion, was reciprocated by nearly all the Americans unanimously; but that it was necessary to express this feeling in its reality. And the reality was that Mr. Viviani and I had found in Washington a certain feeling of surprise at the manner in which the American interests have sometimes been treated, after the peace, and in particular in the Pacific and in the matter of the cables and petroleum.

"America thinks," I said, "that she helped to win the war and that under these circumstances she has a right to see that her interests are not hurt in peace by those with whom she was associated—"

Mr. Briand did not permit me to finish.

"This matter," he said, "does not allow one moment's discussion. I do not think that within ten generations there can be a single Frenchman who will have forgotten what America did in this war. And I do not believe that there is a single Frenchman to-day who would consent that America be deprived of any right whatsoever or of any benefit which victory has given to all of us. It is possible that errors have been committed in this respect; I do not want to look into the past and seek to know which of my predecessors may have been responsible for this, but in advance I certify that the mistake has been an involuntary one. No French Minister has ever conceived the idea of harming American interests in any way whatsoever. The rapidity with which I replied personally to the note of the Secretary of State, Hughes, on the Yap question and its mandates is the best proof of our desire to give immediate satisfaction to America each time that she may be brought to express a claim owing to an incomprehensible error."

(C) Keystone

ARISTIDE BRIAND, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS IN THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, WHOSE INTERVIEW EXPRESSES THE OFFICIAL AS WELL AS THE UNOFFICIAL FEELING OF FRANCE FOR AMERICA

And Mr. Briand further stated:

"In that house of the Quai d'Orsay, where not a single day passes but some representative or other of a nation of the world enters, there is one person whose entrance is always most welcome to us, and that is that of the American Ambassador. There is no example in the records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France that there has ever been any painful or annoying incident with the representative of the United States. We always consider him, no matter what Administration be in power in Washington, as a great friend. Mr. Hugh C. Wallace, who is on the point of leaving us, will leave nothing but the regrets of his departure, and Mr. Myron T. Herrick, who is coming back, will find only open hands to receive him.

"This does not only depend on the great industrial power of the United States, which every one holds in respect, but it is because the United States is a great moral power which every one admires. The representatives of America have the right to say that they are speaking in the name of the most disinterested and most generous nation in the whole world—that is a force which dominates all the other forces. . . ."

Thus spoke Mr. Aristide Briand. And truly, I do believe that what the Prime Minister of to-day said to me the Prime Minister of to-morrow would say likewise. America enjoys at the Quai d'Orsay a special treatment—the treatment of the everlastingly favored nation.

Paris, France.

[1] Copyright by The Outlook Company, 1921.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BOOK TABLE

THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN[1]

"PROTECTION, EDUCATION, HEALTH, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS"

BY JOHN FINLEY

Lately Commissioner of Education of the State of New York

THE editor of a New York magazine spoke to me some months ago of the unusual demand for a particular number of that periodical. As I had contributed something to that number I was prepared for a complimentary reference to my own contribution. Instead, he made appreciative comment on an article by Judge Hoyt, of the Children's Court, in the same number.

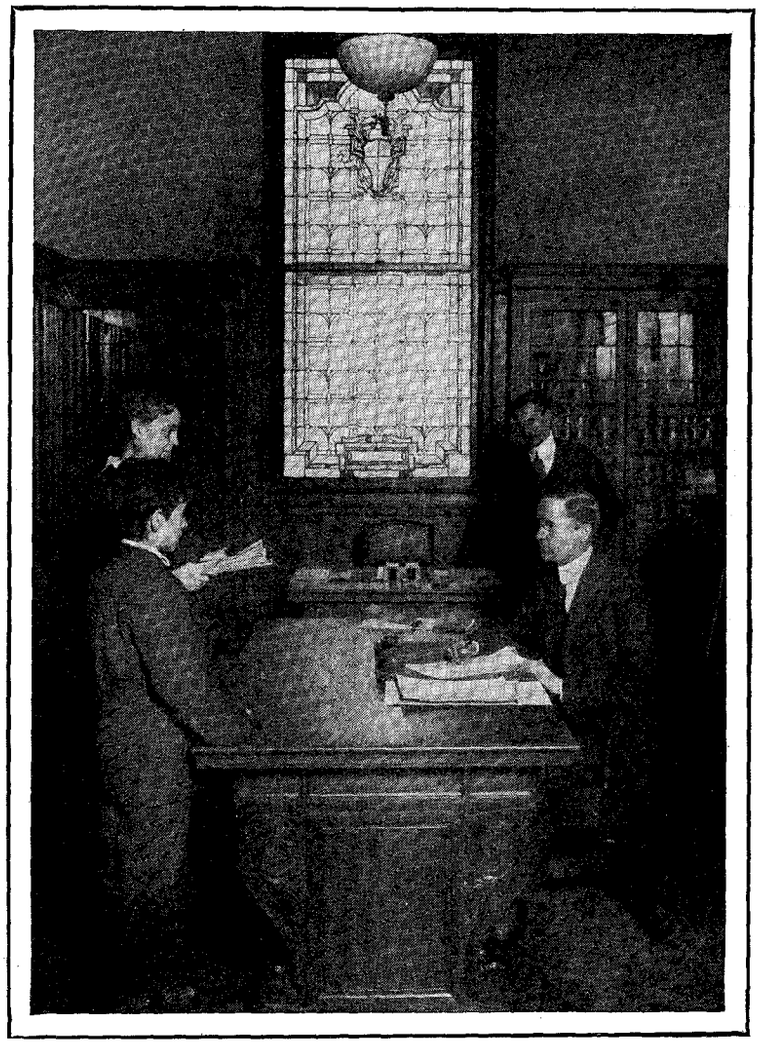
When I left New York, I asked to have sent to the boat an advance copy of a book by the same author containing this article, with many additional chapters about his experience with children and their parents as they passed in procession through his court.

I should like to call attention to this unique book from the point of view of one interested especially in its conclusions, and, also, of one at the moment passing through the city of Charles Dickens, who, as Judge Hoyt says, "has never been credited with being one of the originators of the Children's Court movement, but who must have dreamed of its realization when he wrote 'Oliver Twist,'" for Judge Hoyt finds the prototypes of those who come in real life before him, or who touch their lives, in the fictional characters of Fagin and Sykes and Monks, of Nancy and Bumble and Mr. Brownlow, of Magistrate Fang and Mr. Grimwig. But whatever credit Judge Hoyt may allot, and rightfully, to Charles Dickens, it is pertinent to add that except for the practical service of Judge Hoyt, and such as he, there would be nothing but literary credit to give to Charles Dickens for his "Oliver Twist."

The book bears the title "Quicksands of Youth." But it is by no means a geography of moral morasses in New York City such as an urban social engineer might make, with maps showing particular areas of peril. It should have a more hopeful title, for it has to do chiefly with deliverance from evil and not with sloughs of temptation. There is a classical song of deliverance composed by a prophet who sat as a judge beneath a palm tree in Palestine. But Judge Hoyt's recital of incidents illustrative of "eighty per cent of success as against twenty per cent of failure" in child probation cases is a more hopeful prophecy and with no unseemly or vengeful rejoicing in it. It would be quite as profitable for the average citizen to read the chapter on Harry Samuels, "A Recruit for Law and Order," and the sequel chapter, "Twenty Months After," as to read the fifth chapter of the Book of Judges, beautiful as the latter is.

So, I say, Judge Hoyt (who, when I first knew him, was, as I recall, a Mayor's secretary at the City Hall) has, no doubt from a sense of modesty as to his own service, chosen a title of this consequential book that does not give intimation of its salvaging content. For the Children's Court, whose operation it describes, not by explaining the machinery, but by showing the changes worked in the lives of the children whom it touches, does, in a more literal sense than that in which Wordsworth pictured the "shades of the prison house," prevent their "closing in upon the growing boy." The spirit of this Court, which has happily, as I know from my own observation, found incarnation in its Judge, does not only say, "Come, take my hand, and I will lead you out of the shadows, back again to the kingdom of youth," but it actually does, with common sense, patience, and intelligent open-eyed sympathy, lead many a youth back to that firm ground which is his kingdom out of the quicksands. If it were a sentimental, ineffective tribunal ready to condone every fault, it would be, as the author says, as little helpful to the children, and so to the community, as a court would be that had no other purpose than the punishment of every offense. As it is, the cases are as closely and as scientifically studied as if the Court were a hospital. Every case is a concrete problem.

The general reader will, however, not



PRESIDING JUSTICE FRANKLIN C. HOYT, OF THE NEW YORK CHILDREN'S COURT

The illustration shows Judge Hoyt talking with a juvenile offender in the private examination room of the Children's Court Building. The cases are first tried in the main court room, with every observance of legal formality and etiquette. The presiding justice then appears in judicial robes, and the young offender instinctively feels the power and majesty of the law. If the delinquent is not at that time dismissed, he is remanded to the care of a welfare society or probation officer, and Judge Hoyt's relation to the case becomes personal and intimate like that of a "big brother." "Quicksands of Youth" tells some of the absorbing stories of this fraternal or paternal relationship. Judge Hoyt, by the way, is a grandson of Salmon P. Chase, who was Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court by appointment of Abraham Lincoln

[1] Quicksands of Youth. By Franklin Chase Hoyt, Presiding Justice of the Children's Court of the City of New York. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1921.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

take up this work for such information. He will as soon go to the annual reports of the Probation Commission. But I am able out of my own experience to assure the reader that if he does take up this book he will not put it down until he has finished it, so full is it of hopeful, humorous, and appealing incident. I have had a like experience with another book in the same week—Secretary Lansing's. But I had more hope for the "amending of the earth" when I finished Judge Hoyt's.

Lest some of the readers of this brief appreciation may not see the little book itself, I summarize its conclusions reached through the divination of one who has looked into the hearts of neglected, misguided, unhappy children in a great city.

These conclusions put society under probation, requiring it, if it is to escape inevitable punishment, to give every child "protection, education, health, and the pursuit of happiness," so far as it is in the power to do so.

1. Protection is the right to a "normal, decent, and sympathetic home," and is the "right to be safeguarded against corrupting influences and debasing environments."

2. Education is something beyond the three R's and under the "very best of teachers." Especially are religious training and moral training by parents and ecclesiastical advisers to be emphasized, for Judge Hoyt adds, "If our experience in the Children's Court has proved one thing, it is that religion is essential to the training of children, and that no lasting good can be achieved when their spiritual development is neglected."

3. Health; and here he lays stress upon instruction in the laws of sex hygiene, saying that "if any one should doubt the wisdom of giving such instruction, let him come to the Children's Court."

4. Pursuit of happiness. "We might as well realize," says the Judge, "that, whatever we may do, children are going to join in the universal quest for happiness and pleasure as one of their rights. It is for us, therefore, to see that they are properly guided in their search for recreation and are taught to find enjoyment in the finer things of life."

These are not new auguries. The teachers who daily look into the hearts and minds of children have been uttering like conclusions. But they come with especial force from this judicial haruspex who has made an independent examination of the omens.

London, England.

THE NEW BOOKS

BIOGRAPHY

FOLKS. By Victor Murdock. The Macmillan Company, New York.

These papers might be compared to or rather contrasted with Dickens's "Sketches" and Thomas Fuller's "Holy and Profane State." They are like them only in being psychological miniatures, vivid, pictorial, sketchy. They are thoroughly American, with the characteristic breezy atmosphere of a Mid-Western town in the early days of its existence. If they are fiction, they are realistic fiction; if fact, they are epic history; if photographs, they are artistically colored photographs. They are apparently fact and fiction so ingeniously mixed that the reader cannot tell what is fiction and what fact, what imagination and what memory, and we doubt whether the author himself can tell. They are entertaining and more; they are inspirational. The author reports Lew Wallace as saying of the "boom articles" in the paper which his father edited that "every line had a drum and fife in it." The drum and fife have been inherited by the son.

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA. By Allan Marquand. Princeton Monographs in Art and Archæology, VIII. The Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Professor Marquand has added another to his monographs on the Robbia family. He now discusses the work of Giovanni della Robbia. Giovanni was less original than was Luca or Andrea. Doubtless Giovanni was strongly dependent upon Verrochio and other contemporary sculptors. But Giovanni's works, as we see through the medium of this scholarly volume, were sufficiently impressive. Professor Marquand follows his previous system in giving to us a catalogue of the sculptor's works, and this catalogue constitutes the body of the monograph; it is followed by a suggestive bibliography. There are brief biographical and critical comments. The book is excellently illustrated. It is of particular value to those students of the history of art specially interested in tracing the transition of the chaste lines of the early periods of sculpture to the robuster if less inspiring and more melodramatic lines of later ages.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

NEW ENGLAND GROUP AND OTHERS. By Paul Elmer More. Shelburne Essays. Eleventh Series. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Catholic in his interests, conservatively progressive in his judgments, neither radical nor reactionary in his temperament, keenly critical in his analyses, constructive in his purpose, Mr. More's essays are well worth reading as introductions to the authors of whom he treats. He is luminous without being brilliant and judicial without being dull.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

CRADLE OF THE DEEP (THE). An Account of a Voyage to the West Indies. By Sir Frederick Treves. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

This is a new printing of Sir Frederick Treves's well-known and well-liked book about a voyage to and among the West Indies. The interest of the narrative is in the lively and graphic résumé of the history of the islands rather than in personal experiences of the author, though the book is well illustrated by the voyager's own snap-shots.

SHADOW-SHOW (THE). By J. H. Curle. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

The author of this volume understands the human side of many countries and questions and how to discuss the inter-relations of peoples with philosophy, humor, and keen observation.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

CHRISTIAN PREACHER (THE). By Alfred Ernest Garvie, M.A., D.D. (International Theological Library.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

This volume should be useful to many a preacher. It deals with the choice of subjects and texts, the contents, character, arrangement, composition, and delivery of the sermon. The book is charged with simple, practical counsels.

LIFE INDEED (THE). A Review, in Terms of Common Thinking, of the Scripture History Issuing in Immortality. By John Franklin Genung, Late Professor of Literary and Biblical Interpretation in Amherst College. The Marshall Jones Company, Boston.

After Professor Genung's death this book was found in manuscript among his papers—"his last message crystallized . . . out of a broad and deep life." It is well worth careful, meditative reading by all who care for the life of the spirit. Professor Genung's "Epic of the Inner Life" is a classic, and, as an interpreter of the Bible and of the spiritual life of which the Bible is itself an interpreter, ranks with George Adam Smith's "Isaiah" and Griffis's "Lily Among Thorns." Connecting immortality, as the New Testament connects it, with the life of the spirit, Dr. Genung shows how faith in immortality is brought to light only as that life of the spirit is brought to light. We have faith in immortality when we possess immortality. It is characteristic of him to regard Bible texts as windows and to look through them at the prospect which they open before us. Thus in a single sentence he invites you as it were to lay down his book and think; unless you can do that, it is not a book of much value to you. For example: "He who is, has spelled His name in the letters of human life, has expressed His nature in the terms of human nature, and now we have but to look at it and see if it is not so." Or, again: "The Lord will never acquit a man and say that he did not transgress when he did. . . . But He will forgive, will take the guilt as guilt and cover it up with mercy." Here are two of the profoundest doctrines of evangelical faith embodied each in a sentence, and each sentence an embodiment of a spiritual experience. Throughout, this book is a product of one who had studied not only books but life, the life of the spirit, and reveals and teaches that life as Paul did, "comparing spiritual things with spiritual." It is not always easy reading; not because it is obscurely written, but because it endeavors to carry the reader into a realm which in this materialistic age is to many readers a foreign country.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THIS WEEK'S OUTLOOK

WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY[1]

BY J. MADISON GATHANY
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

Humanizing the Post Office

DO you know of any distinct and notable advance made in the Post Office Department while Mr. Burleson was in office? If so, tell about it.

Mr. Hays pronounces the American Post Office "the greatest of all businesses." What facts are there which tend to justify such a sweeping statement?

Can you suggest to Mr. Hays some definite ways in which he might conduct with great profit to those under him a welfare department, a department which he is very desirous of establishing?

Can you express in four or five sentences how Postmaster-General Hays believes the Post Office should be conducted?

Is the Post Office the oldest of the ten Executive Departments? Which is the youngest of these Departments? What salary does each of the heads of these Departments receive? State very briefly what the chief duties of the heads of Executive Departments are.

Give a brief sketch of the history of the United States Post Office. What improvements have been made in the postal service during the last fifty years?

Define with accuracy the following expressions: *Obsessed, in lieu of, commensurate, subterfuge, decency, morale, slogan.*

Japan

What does the expression "militaristic nation" mean? Does possessing an army and a navy mean that a country is militaristic? Is there any actual proof that Japan is any more militaristic than Great Britain or the United States?

One of the writers on another page of this issue of The Outlook refers to Japan as "the England of the Orient." Do you see any objection to Japan playing such a rôle in the Far East?

If it is true, as different writers in this issue of The Outlook say, that there is "a growing antipathy in America, Canada, Australia, and elsewhere" toward Japan, that Japan "in vain scans the horizon for a sincere friend," and that army and navy expenditure in Japan is "isolating Japan from the rest of the civilized world," who and what are to blame for such a situation? Is it right that other nations should hold such attitudes towards Japan?

What do you learn about current Japanese politics by reading the two articles found elsewhere in this issue on Japan?

If you were asked to make a speech on the topic "Why War?" what points would you emphasize?

Define these words: *Insidious, anomalous, diplomats, reactionary, contiguous, vernacular press, plutocratic, allegations.*

Here are four books well worth reading: "An Introduction to the History of Japan," by Katsuro Hara (Putnams); "Modern Japan," by A. S. and S. W. Hershey (Bobbs, Merrill Co., Indianapolis); "Must We Fight Japan?" by Walter D. Pitkin (Century); "Why War?" by F. C. Howell (Scribners).

Ambassador Harvey Makes a Speech

On another page The Outlook reports that Ambassador Harvey said in London recently that "the present Government could not, without betrayal of its creators and masters, and will not, I can assure you, have anything whatsoever to do with the League, or any commission or committee appointed by it, or responsible to it, directly or indirectly, openly or furtively." Does this pronouncement by Ambassador Harvey accord with what President Harding and Secretary Hughes have said in this country about the League of Nations and America's relation to it? Does the above statement by Mr. Harvey please you? What are your reasons?

In this same speech our Ambassador to the Court of St. James's said that "we sent them [our soldiers and sailors] solely to save the United States of America." In his speech to Congress, April 2, 1917, President Wilson told in the following words what America's ideals and purposes were in going into the war: "We are glad to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience." Why did America enter the World War? Was it solely to save the United States of America? Is Ambassador Harvey's view of why we entered the war your personal view?

On another page The Outlook tells us that it is not only right but expedient that America and Great Britain should continue to live in the spirit of comity and enduring friendship. Why right? Why expedient? What, with reasons, is your opinion of those who hold to an ancient grudge against Great Britain?

What do you think of what is written in the book entitled "A Straight Deal or the Ancient Grudge," by Owen Wister (Macmillan)? If you have not done so already, you certainly ought to read "The English-Speaking Peoples," by G. L. Beer (Macmillan), in which the author writes on the future relations and international obligations of all the English-speaking peoples.

[1] These questions and comments are designed not only for the use of current events classes and clubs, debating societies, teachers of history and English, and the like, but also for discussion in the home and for suggestions to any reader who desires to study current affairs as well as to read about them.—The Editors.

CONTRIBUTORS' GALLERY

WILL H. HAYS, Postmaster-General of the United States, was born in Sullivan, Indiana, in 1879. He was graduated from Wabash College in 1900. He was City Attorney of Sullivan from 1910 to 1913. As Chairman of the Republican National Committee he managed the campaign which resulted in Warren G. Harding's election to the Presidency. In the preparation of this article, The Outlook's plan was that Mr. Hays should speak to its readers by means of an interview; but he regarded the subject as of such importance that he wrote the article on "Humanizing the Post Office" himself.

HENRY WALSWORTH KINNEY was also born in 1879, but in Wailuku, Territory of Hawaii. He was graduated from the University of Copenhagen in 1897 and did graduate work at the University of California. He has been a teacher, chemist, reporter, and editor. He was Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Territory of Hawaii from May 1, 1914, to April 1, 1919. He is now on the editorial staff of "The Trans-Pacific," of Tokyo, Japan. He is the author of "The Island of Hawaii."

HARRY LEE has done extensive work among hospitals devoted to the cure of returned soldiers. His sketch entitled "The Friend" appeared in The Outlook for May 18.

HAROLD SCARBOROUGH is a member of the New York "Tribune's" European staff. His articles "The Most Distressful Country" and "The Turbulent Isle" appeared in The Outlook for March 30 and April 6.

LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT, President of The Outlook Company, was graduated from Amherst in 1881 and soon afterwards in California met Franklin K. Lane, of whom he writes in this issue.

HAROLD TROWBRIDGE PULSIFER, whose verses bear as title the words in which Franklin Knight Lane voiced his creed, is an editor of The Outlook.

STÉPHANE LAUZANNE, editor of the Paris "Matin," has frequently contributed to The Outlook. His most recent visit to the United States was in company with the French special ambassador, M. Viviani. His article in The Outlook for March 16, 1921, with a statement by Ferdinand Foch, Marshal of France, was widely quoted.

JOHN HUSTON FINLEY became Commissioner of Education of the State of New York and President of the University of the State of New York in 1913. He had previously been President of Knox College, Professor of Politics at Princeton, and President of the College of the City of New York. He has been Harvard exchange lecturer at the Sorbonne. He was born at Grand Ridge, Illinois, in 1863, and was educated at Knox College and Johns Hopkins. He is a Knight of the Legion of Honor, Chevalier of the Crown of Italy, and Knight of the Holy Sepulcher.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED